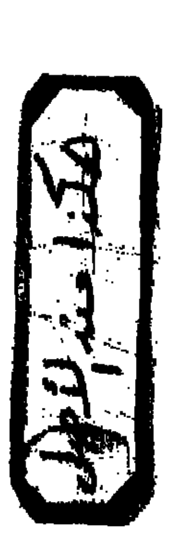


The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

burg, 22 May 1983
ty-second year - No. 1085 - By air

Euro integration: Bonn hopes in the balance

rucial days lie ahead, for the EEC in general and Bonn's European oymakers in particular. This became ar after the confidential talks by mmon Market foreign ministers at mnich Castle, near Bonn.

An entire range of further soundings l need taking to show whether the h hopes the new Bonn government d of headway on European integra- during its chairmanship of the EEC uncil of Ministers can still be fulfill-

Otherwise Chancellor Kohl might ll have to draw up a disappointing tial balance-sheet when Germany nds over to Greece at the EEC at the of June.

Bonn's policy is admittedly unclear l still lacks direction, especially in difficult terrain of European Com- unity finances.

But Chancellor Kohl and Foreign inister Genscher can hardly be held ponsible for the recent events ond their control that have worsen- matters.

The first is Mrs Thatcher's decision go the polls on 9 June. This threatens jeopardise the Stuttgart EEC summit, ped by Bonn to be the climax of Ger- ny's term in the chair.

If Mrs Thatcher feels unable to at- d in person, the summit's value ld well be reduced.

Elections, of course, are almost al- ys being held somewhere or other in e EEC, but nowhere is a general elec- n and its outcome of such overriding nificance for Europe's prospects as Britain.

Economic and agricultural policies se further problems. The DM9bn n to France which European Com-

Genscher-Colombo European integration plan to be tabled at EEC summit — page 2

munity Finance Ministers seem sure to approve is a gesture of European soli- darity.

It also shows yet again how far apart the economies of major Common Mar- ket countries are drifting in the wake of France's economic experiments.

As for agricultural finances, it was unclear at the time of writing whether French farmers would make good their threat of closing the borders for farm imports.

If they did, it would coincide with the talks between EEC Agriculture Minis- ters in Brussels on the new prices and between Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand in Paris for consultations.

A reform of Common Market finan- ces is growing increasingly urgent. The EEC budget estimates for 1984 submitt- ed by the European Commission show how little leeway remains.

Pressure is exerted by farm price in- creases, by bumper agricultural surplu- ses and by the decline in world market prices.

And that is not even to mention the cost of the EEC's southward enlarge- ment, which will impose a heavy bur- den on the Common Market's finances in the medium term.

So the European Community's finan- cial problems come increasingly to the fore at the intensive talks held in Gym- nich Castle.

They seem steadily more likely to be- come the focal point of debate and the yardstick by which the success of

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

he next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 5 June.



A breath of summer air ... EEC foreign ministers get away from the conference tables at Gymnich Castle, near Bonn, where they held talks this month. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Andropov and missiles: was he talking hot air after all?

Mr Andropov has now caused doubts about how serious the Soviet Union is about its disarmament proposals.

The West initially thought a step in the right direction had been taken when he accepted US demands for warheads and not just missiles to be counted at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles.

But the Soviet leader has since made an additional explanation that places a major damper on hopes of genuine Soviet readiness to reduce Russia's modern missile potential.

Warhead comparisons, he now says, naturally do not mean any reduction in the number of carrier vehicles.

The Soviet Union aims to retain at least 162 SS-20 systems in European Russia, which is the number maintained by Britain and France.

Preparations are under way to expand the number of missile systems, at present 108, aimed at China and Japan from Soviet Asia.

The 162 SS-20s Mr Andropov says Russia needs whatever happens to ensure Soviet security will thus be capable of covering a good 500 targets in Europe.

The Soviet Union is keen to retain this potential without allowing the Nato countries in Western Europe at which it is aimed to establish a missile potential of their own.

It does so even though the SS-20 cannot be compared with the outdated British and French strategic systems, which have only single warheads, are mainly on board nuclear submarines and are not under Nato command either.

Does the Soviet offer perhaps mean that Moscow might be prepared to modify its multiple-warhead SS-20s and fit the 162 systems with single warheads instead?

What will then be done to the others? Will these mobile missiles merely be relocated somewhere near railway lines (like all the rest)? Will even more be based in Asia?

The Soviet Union is reluctant to answer these queries and contents itself with confusing public opinion, long overtaxed, in the West with all manner of offers.

Is the Soviet propaganda objective to create confusion as part of a campaign to wear down public opinion, as Free Democrat Jürgen Möllemann seems to think?

Scepticism is bound to increase in the wake of the latest Soviet statements, and all Soviet disarmament and arms li-

Continued on page 2



CANADIAN GOVERNOR-GENERAL, Edward Schreyer (left) and Bonn President Karl Carstens in Bonn. It is the first time that a Canadian head of state has visited the Federal Republic while holding office. Schreyer, who is accompanied by his wife, is also visiting West Berlin and some of the Federal States. (Photo: Sven Simon)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Genscher-Colombo European integration plan to be tabled at EEC summit

A "European Act" has been drawn up for approval at the Stuttgart summit meeting of EEC leaders.

It has been put together on the initiative of Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Italian counterpart Emilio Colombo.

As a solemn declaration on European Union the document would says Herr Genscher, *institutionalise foreign policy cooperation.*

The EEC and the EPC, (European Political Cooperation) two pillars of integration in Western Europe, would be linked. Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl favours the idea.

Whether the declaration will be acclaimed by al member-countries in another matter. Minister of State Alois Mertes, whose expertise has been a great help to Herr Genscher at this tricky level of diplomacy, is only moderately optimistic.

The Germans and Italians are dealing with partners whose historical development has been individual and independent, but they cannot close their eyes to the need for agreement in the West on fundamental problems.

In particular, it remains to be seen how Britain and France, traditionally great powers, will react.

Bonn at all events does not intend to be to blame for handing over the chairmanship of the Council of Ministers at the end of June with an idea for integration that has failed.

Too much prestige, including the personal prestige of Herr Genscher, has been invested in the project for Bonn to risk being held responsible.

In the 1970s EPC, the European Political Cooperation agreement, produced various declarations on the Middle East, Namibia and Cambodia. Since 1980 unanimity has also been shown in resolutions on Afghanistan and Poland.

EPC was agreed on 13 years ago to try and unify EEC views on foreign policy issues.

The EPC gatherings have also issued statements on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, on UN disarmament bids, on nuclear non-proliferation and on various Third World problems.

Security policy cooperation within the EPC framework is strictly political. Military matters are left to Nato.

Herr Genscher told the European Assembly in Strasbourg last month that his "European Act" was in the pipeline. "I shall not be appearing before this Parliament," he told Euro-MPs, "with a joint effort by the Council of Ministers that does not merit being termed a step toward European Union."

He feels a return to majority decisions in the Council of Ministers is essential if it is to be more effective and capable of action.

If he were to gain approval of majority voting he could be sure of a majority in favour of the German-Italian proposals. Mr Pym and M. Cheysson, his British and French opposite numbers, would no longer be in a position to prevent them from being approved.

Otherwise they might be able to do so on the basis of the consensus principle, in effect a right of veto, that has prevailed since 1966.

It is hard to say whether they will veto the Genscher-Colombo Plan because of disadvantages it might cause to their national policies.

The possibility can certainly not be ruled out, arguably as a sop to anti-Europeans back home.

Bonn is wondering how the European Act might still be taken over the sticks. Britain and France could possibly be agreed to hold dissenting views in the way that France was in 1966 in Luxembourg when the other five EEC countries went over to majority voting.

The second obstacle the declaration has yet to clear is the extension of powers delegated to the European Parliament as envisaged by Herr Genscher and Signor Colombo.

The European Assembly is in future to be given a hearing in its watchdog role, on major international agreements and in connection with prospective new members. If the European Act is approved it could be renewed by the European Parliament five years after it is signed.

It is very doubtful whether the transfer of such powers to the European Assembly would meet with the approval of all 10 Common Market countries (soon to become a round dozen when Spain and Portugal joint the EEC).

Just before EEC Foreign Ministers met in Gymnich, near Bonn, Herr Genscher outlined in detail what he felt German policy on Europe should be at Gymnich and Stuttgart.

Within Europe, he said the aim must be to press ahead with integration toward European Union. Externally, Europe must be guided by the Western community of values.

Comprehensible though this approach might sound, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a consensus amounting to more than mere lip service on major hot spots in world affairs.

An example constantly cited is the Venice resolution on the Middle East approved by the European Council on 12 June 1980.

In it the nine member-states (as they then were) emphasised that traditional ties with the Middle East made them feel obliged to play a special role and take specific action for the sake of peace.

Then came a section in which the right to security of all states in the region, including Israel, was reaffirmed, followed by a call for justice for all peoples, including recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Express mention was made of the PLO, which must be allowed to take part in negotiations.

This resolution was in keeping with British, French and Italian intentions, whereas it proved to Germany's disadvantage.

Israel accused Bonn of taking part in an upgrading of the PLO, while Washington made it clear that the Venice resolution ran counter to overriding Western interests.

Britain and France, who were still powerful and, up to a point, nuclear powers, could afford to view the reactions in Washington and Jerusalem with equanimity.

Yet it remains a fact that cooperation in an institutionally consolidated free Europe (limited by the results of the Second World War to Western Europe for the time being) must be related to ties with the United States.

Seemed simple

Thirteen years ago, when the Common Market countries embarked on foreign policy cooperation that has gone by the name of EPC, it looked for a while as though Europe could take its time.

All it needed to do was to reaffirm Europe's fundamental links with America and go ahead slowly with the intricate process of integration.

Then nuclear stalemate forced the superpowers to fight wars by proxy in, say, Vietnam and the Middle East. Both were war theatres yet ran no serious risk of escalation to world power confrontation level.

Washington, London and Moscow had just agreed to nuclear non-proliferation, and not even Mr Brezhnev's orders to the Warsaw Pact to invade Czechoslovakia in August 1968 shook their complicity.

While Washington and Moscow paved the way for talks on limiting strategic arms, Britain, Ireland, Denmark and, initially, Norway agreed to EEC membership terms in Western Europe.

In Germany the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn was keen to come to terms with Moscow and Warsaw, and at times it was more intent on ties with the East Bloc than with the West.

At times there was an impression that Europe was in the throes of a rebirth of old-style nationalism, with P[...] Gaulle virulently opposing th[...] mitment in Vietnam as early [...] 1960s.

In Eastern Europe the pot [...] tantly on the boil in Poland, C[...] vakia and Rumania, and when [...] Pact forces were sent into Cz[...] kia to lend "fraternal assistance" [...] dent de Gaulle said it was a [...] the division of Europe for w[...] Americans had been to blame.

In the summer of 1968 G[...] Gaulle sensed an opportunity [...] fluencing world affairs indep[...] of the United States.

While the Johnson admin[...] was concentrating more on S[...] Asia than on Europe, in E[...] trend to break loose of Wa[...] apron-strings seemed to be gro[...] shionable.

One might not agree with so[...] trends in world affairs heralded [...] sident Kennedy in the early-1[...] his call for Europe to speak [...] voice as a partner of Americ[...] crises of the day certainly made [...]

It is likewise hard to deny th[...] President de Gaulle the process [...] dination in Western Europe [...] time, although special wishes b[...] and German politicians may w[...] played a part.

President de Gaulle's resig[...] April 1969 certainly made it [...] eliminate setbacks to the process [...] ropean integration.

At the December 1969 Ha[...] mit, where EPC first took sha[...] dent Pompidou of France a[...] principle to enlargement of th[...] mon Market and further integr[...]

The establishment of an E[...] and Monetary Union by 1980 w[...] saged.

In spring 1973 US Secretary [...] Kissinger, having declared 1[...] Year of Europe, proposed a new [...] tic Charter.

This proposal failed simply [...] of the clash, currently only too [...] under the Reagan administration [...] ween America's global respo[...] and European regional interests.

But experience has shown th[...] clash could pale in significance [...] were a widespread feeling tha[...] threatened.

It implies no lack of respec[...] cultural and political variety of [...] hailed by Jacob Burckhardt in th[...] 19th century to note the urgent [...] agreement among EEC coun[...] world affairs.

The alliance with America is [...] mentary importance, so the latest [...] arrive at a European Union la[...] policy ought to have some succ[...] spite less than satisfactory pa[...] rience.

Gerd R[...]
(Rheinischer Merkur/Chris[...] 11 M[...])

EEC unity

Continued from page 1

Bonn's chairmanship at the EEC will be measured.

This is even more the case now that the Bonn coalition has failed to arrive at a clear attitude on proposals made by the European Commission in Brussels.

Herr Genscher set great store by the German-Italian bid to promote political development of the European Community, but the solemn declaration he envisaged has similarly declined in importance.

Eberhard Wisdorff
(Handelsblatt, 16 May 1983)

Disarmament

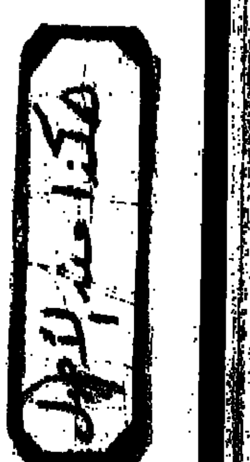
Continued from page 1

mitation initiatives forfeit credibility as a result.

How much more honest and constructive it would be if the experts were, as originally agreed, to come to terms at Geneva on the basis of reliable data!

Instead, hopes are being encouraged bit by bit in speeches and interviews that Moscow has no intention of fulfilling.

Peter Seidlitz
(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 May 1983)



The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chi[...] Heinz Edler. Alexander Anthony. English [...] sub-editor: Simon Burnett – Distribution [...] Georgine Picone

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH 23 Schoene [...] Hamburg 76. Tel 22 85 1 Telex 02-14733

Advertising rates list No. 16 — Annual subscription DM 45.

Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus Friedr[...] Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA by [...] MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New Yo[...] 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE [...] published in cooperation with the editorial [...] leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of [...] ny. They are complete translations of the original [...] no way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

In all correspondence please quote your [...] number, which appears on the wrapper [...] asterisks above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Official Bonn Spokesman decides to quit

[...]iether Stolze has resigned as Bonn Government Spokesman. He has [...] replaced by Peter Boenisch.

[...]ce Stolze was appointed last year [...] have been rumours that he would [...]t early. Now that he is indeed [...], the question is: Why wasn't Boe[...] chosen at the beginning.

[...]enisch has been regarded as the [...]s choice ever since Helmut Kohl [...]t the Bundestag election cam[...] as Opposition candidate back in [...]

[...]e could be seen every evening toge[...] with Kohl's closest circle of [...]nds.

[...]hen Helmut Schmidt was toppled [...] autumn by a constructive vote of confidence, it became apparent that [...] new Chancellor had not yet made [...] decisions on personnel.

[...]nstead of Boenisch, Kohl decided [...] Stolze, the co-publisher of *Die Zeit.*

Kohl would have undoubtedly pre[...]red to have a journalist familiar with [...]n and able to get on well with the [...]n tricky correspondents there.

[...]ut it soon became clear why he [...]se Stolze.

[...]n a time in which an austerity pro[...]mme had to be pushed through and [...] economy refuted, Kohl needed a [...]n with a sound knowledge of econo[...]cs, able to present complicated [...]bject-matter in a generally intelligible [...]y, Stolze soon gained access to [...]l's circle of advisers.

[...]e could not complain about the [...]od of collaboration in Bonn and [...]lmut Kohl's words of farewell, which [...]ke of the warm atmosphere of mu[...]l co-operation, were sincere.

[...]tolze can also claim to have reaped [...]siderable benefit from his brief [...]od in office.

[...]here is no doubt that the job of Go[...]nment Spokesman, always at the [...]ncellor's side and in the know on [...] the moves he makes, has a fascinat[...] appeal.

[...]ut the job is strenous and nerve-[...]king.

[...]tolze is proud to be able to say that [...]his strictly observed the dividing [...] between his duty to inform the [...]lic on the one hand and to make [...]paganda on the other.

[...]his has certainly been no easy task [...] the face of considerable jostling from [...] CDU and the hectic mood during [...] election campaign early this year.

[...]his struggle to forward political self-[...]est was only one aspect of the new [...]riences to be made. Basically, Bonn [...] one big unknown for Stolze.

[...]n such a situation, trivial matters can [...]denly snowball into serious pro[...]ms.

[...]ne handicap which Stolze perhaps [...]got to consider when he accepted the [...], for example, is the understandable [...]re not to get the sack. Acting as Go[...]nment Spokesman means a 14-hour [...]king day.

[...]ike Stolze, Boenisch too may find [...] lure of government and Chancellor [...]cles an attractive proposition.

[...]ny estrangement which may have [...]veloped between Boenisch and the [...]ancellor has been eliminated.

[...]Boenisch will be well aware of the [...]ks and the drawbacks of his new office, for he and Stolze have been close friends for a long time.

Boenisch was born in Berlin on 4 May, 1927. His mother is Russian.

After the war, he studied law and Slavonic studies for a while, before working as local and sports editor for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Berlin, the newspaper issued by the occupying American forces.

He then worked for *Newsweek* and the *New York Times* and by 1949 he had worked his way up to editor-in-chied of the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Tagespost.*

In 1956 he was one of the initiators of the teenager magazine *Bravo.*

In summer 1959 Boenisch joined the Springer publishing house and became editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper *Bild* in 1961.

In 1965 he also took on the editorship for the *Bild am Sonntag.*

Following a reorganisation of the Springer group he was also appointed Secretary to its new *Gesellschaft für Publizistik* (Association for Journalism).

He was recalled from his position of editor-in-chief of *Die Welt* (which he has held since 1978) in 1981.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 May 1983)

The latest edition ... new Government Spokesman Peter Boenisch. (Photo: Sven Simon)



Chancellor Kohl (right) explains the decision of Government Spokesman Diether Stolze (left) to resign. (Photo: dpa)

The top Press job makes heavy demands

In statistical terms, ex-Government Spokesman, Diether Stolze, in office for less than eight months, must be classed a failure.

The average Government Spokesman in Bonn, remains in office for about two years and three months.

Viewed less mathematically, however, the latest personnel shift in Bonn would appear to have less to do with personal abilities and more to do with decisions of a more fundamental political nature.

Of course, there are also special reasons for Stolze's premature departure.

In all probability, he underestimated the stress associated with the dual role to be played by a Government Spokesman in Bonn.

On the one hand, he is head of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, with its staff of 700; on the other, he must function as a political firework-maker, and one careless word can turn into political dynamite.

Stolze's personal attitude towards life never really allowed him to meet the demands of such a dual role in the only way possible: by completely renouncing his private life.

In this sense, he was never really the right man for the job.

Another factor: Kohl brought along his old kitchen cabinet, led by Eduard Ackermann, who was known to be matchless in the surefooted way he deals with the Press in Bonn.

As head of the Public Relations Directorate and long-standing confidant to the government leader, he was virtually closer to the Chancellor than anyone else.

This kind of thing tends to undermine the prestige of a Spokesman.

And yet, irrespective of those personal circumstances, there is a more important reason for the early departures of many Goverhment Spokesmen.

They are increasingly being forced out of their official role of interpreter of government policies into one in which they function as a scapegoat for government slip-ups.

The government policies are all right, it is claimed, it's the poor way in which they are sold which leads to political setbacks.

Bonn's Spokesmen are increasingly becoming "doormats" for the politicians, taking the blame for not being able to convince the public that an ugly-looking toad is really a tasty oyster.

Many run into difficulties when they refuse to cross the line between information, backed by tax-payer's money, and propaganda.

Chancellor Kohl himself cannot be accused of treating his Spokesman this way, but quite a few of his party friends could be.

One can only hope that Peter Boenisch has not been chosen purely on account of his reputation as a good salesman of popular press material.

Hans Peter Schütz
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 May 1983)

Three key civil servants are replaced

In one fell swoop, Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU), Federal Minister of the Interior, has replaced three top civil servants.

All three were competent bureaucrats and all had made their own personal mark: State Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, Günter Hartkopf; President of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Richard Meier; and Federal Commissioner for the Prevention on of Data Abuse, Professor Hans Peter Bull.

Bull is the only SPD man, Hartkopf is a member of the FDP, who cannot be said to have leftist leanings, Meier sympathises with the conservative parties.

Not one of the three replacements is an SPD or FDP man.

But party membership was probably just one of the reasons for Zimmermann's new choices.

Hartkopf, Meier and Bull were all experts who were often hard to handle. The three newcomers are expected to fit in more smoothly.

The new Interior State Secretary, Franz Kroppenstedt, was President of the Federal Statistical Office.

The new President of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution Heribert Hellenbroich, was the deputy.

The new Federal Commissioner for the Prevention of Data Abuse, Reinhold Baumann, was previously the head of the sub-directorate in the Constitution Directorate of the Interior Ministry.

Baumann gave an indication of the reasons behind Zimmermann's choice when he stated that he intends to keep data protection out of the headlines.

His predecessor, Bull, felt it only right publicly to point out any shortcomings in the prevention of data abuse.

Zimmermann also found it difficult to forgive Richard Meier for the headlines caused by a car accident in which he was involved.

The Federal Minister for the Interior will have to wait and see if the newcomers come up to his expectations.

For, after all, good civil servants must take into account the interests of the citizens at large and not just those of a particular minister, particularly in the data abuse post.

He can only then satisfy the demands of his office if he gains the confidence of the public.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 May 1983)

■ THE HITLER DIARIES

Reporter sacked, editors resign over forgeries

The Hitler diaries are false. The German Federal Archives in Koblenz examined examples and announced within 48 hours that they are forgeries. The magazine *Stern* which produced the documents, parts of which they have already published, have sacked a leading figure involved in the issue, reporter Gerd Heidemann, and two of the three editors-in-chief, Peter Koch and Felix Schmidt, have resigned. *Stern* has asked the state prosecutor to investigate Heidemann, who has repeatedly refused to disclose the source of the documents. *Stern* now says it doubts whether the source even exists. It also says Heidemann might have "enriched" himself through the deal, which cost the magazine somewhere between DM8m and DM10m, depending on whose estimate is taken.

The diaries of Adolf Hitler are a hoax. But now the witchhunt goes on to find out who, why and where.

In a brief statement issued by the publishers of *Stern*, Gruner & Jahr, in Hamburg, the resignation of two editors-in-chief, Peter Koch and Felix Schmidt, was announced.

The statement is signed by the chairman of Gruner & Jahr's board of managing directors, Gerd Schulte-Hillen, who it is claimed himself had a hand in the whole affair.

The Hamburg publishing house is now busy carrying out repair work on the next issue of *Stern*, calming down its angry journalists and paving the way for further "consequences".

Peter Koch had to be called back to Germany from the United States, where he was still conducting background research on the diaries together with the son of Hitler's former deputy, Rudolf Hess.

The reporter behind the affair, Gerd Heidemann, was somewhere in Bavaria.

The planned next instalment of the diaries will be replaced by the story behind their forgery. It's a case of trying to make money out of a flop.

As Henri Nannen, the publisher, points out: "We shall be trying to uncover the story behind this these forgeries, and I real mean uncover".

But *Stern* reporters are now wondering who is going to believe them now.

"The only thing we're going to uncover is what date it is tomorrow", they said. Up until the afternoon of 6 May the journalists seemed to be mere onlookers.

Yet gradually it became apparent that too much work had been carried out without sufficient precautions.

Gerd Heidemann, who had offered his material to the editors-in-chief, had not apparently named the names of his sources right up until the actual publication deadline.

Herr Schulte-Hillen only discovered a name after exerting "psychological pressure" on Heidemann.

By this time, however, the millions of marks for the story had already been handed over. By evening, publisher Nannen had to admit defeat: "I feel that we have every reason to feel ashamed in front of our readers."

Nannen, who up to this time had been most restrained, still assured the public that the journalists responsible had checked the authenticity of the fake diaries as best they could.

He then drifted into the jargon of day-to-day routine as he spoke about the marketing aspects of such alleged diaries.

He pointed out that, after all, Adenauer and Kissinger had written their memoires, sold them for a great deal of money and allowed them to be marketed. Saturday, 7 May, then saw some heavy backtracking by both the publishing house and the editors.

"The authenticity tests conducted before the start of publication have revealed themselves to be inadequate."

None of the official statements have yet in any way explained how a magazine like *Stern* could be fooled in such a way.

Heidemann is a good reporter but he is also a controversial figure — his links to former Nazi leading lights were known not to be purely journalistic.

It would seem that the *Stern* management was subject to a variety of ... res with regard to Hitler's diari...

It had been looking for a bi... months. It has been pipped a... by other magazines on other s...

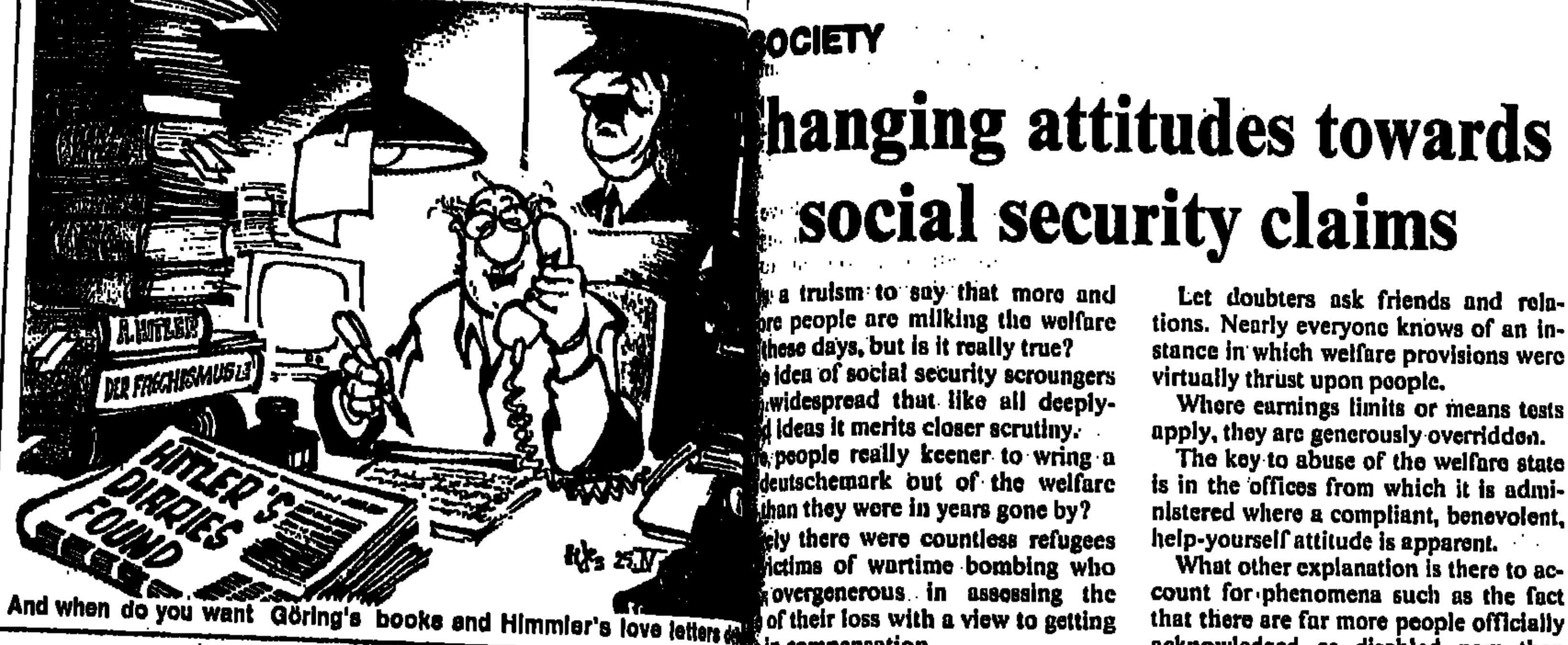
It was, for example, offe... ments on the wheelings and d... the *Neue Heimat* trade unio... But *Der Spiegel* was first.

Stern also missed the sc... rounding the *Flick* group of co...

The fact that other magaz... also involved in negotiations ... ing the Hitler documents le... greater pressure to make sur... did not slip away.

Karst...

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeige...)



And when do you want Göring's books and Himmler's love letters ...

(Horst Haitzinger/Saarbr...)

What the hoax means for German media

It now seems incredible that *Stern* was threatening to print this freshly-written Hitler volume for volume for fifteen months.

Presumably, the historians were then expected to pick up the morsels and ruminate on them.

Now's the time for questions to be asked: is it really so easy for the media to create such an event and manipulate the reading public?

Isn't the way in which German TV stations are automatically taken in by a story which is not verificable and present discussions on the subject an open invitation to potential forgers?

The fact that for dramaturgical reasons the British right-wing historian, David Irving, was asked to take part in such a discussion must certainly have brought a smile to the faces of Germany's right-wing extremists.

An "event", both artificial and fake, became a huge issue for the media.

The grotesque thing is that most of the interest was shown in this affair after *Stern* had been forced by public opinion to carry out a belated examination into the authenticity of the alleged diaries.

What *Stern* did cannot, of course, be generalised. The editorial staff would appear to have been left in the dark most of the time, the real decisions being made higher up the scale.

The staff have asked their readers to forgive them in the hope that they will not be dragged into the incredulity.

Serious thought must be given to the reasons behind the affair.

Stern, a million-selling "popular" magazine, is a mass medium which is not easily compared with other media.

Its behaviour and its content is more dependent on successful marketing than on a positive image.

Another aspect which makes *Stern* different is its huge staff and financial resources.

It is a marvellous money-maker for the Bertelsmann group of companies, to which the Stern publishing house Gruner & Jahr AG belongs.

In such an atmosphere, there is the ideal conditions for an attitude that you can buy anything that's going and find anything you want.

Very often, however, it means that you only think in terms of what you can actually see.

In the Heidemann/Hitler case, however this mood itself would not have been enough to move the millions needed for the story had the top ... Bertelsmann not been moth... attitude that commercial suc... be encouraged at all costs.

It certainly, therefore, doesn'... if those responsible at top lev... terested in countering their ... "discovery" with doubts, parti... it is so expensive.

This basic approach to ... which creates men of action ... of efficiency, would indicate th... dy really though about the pos... torical or political implication... a story.

Thinking only went as far as ... tion figures and licensing polic...

The most dangerous aspect of ... gantic flop is the blind faith ... the decision-makers in the pu... house and the main editorial o... the result of an form of ... which can only be described as ...

A second disturbing aspect ... whole affair is the way in ... story was "launched" without ... or historical scruples, blinded ... prospect of becoming an inter... sensation and gaining power ov... media, historians and indeed ... self.

There is something frightenin... the fact that somebody could ... does believe that such — real or ... scraps of paper can change the ... of Nazi history.

In an exciting and cleverly ... analysis on Hitler, another Ste... time the British specialist on G... affairs, J.P. Stern of Oxford, sta... any new biographical details w... have meant any great adjustm... German and European history.

A good thing is that the public ... of what Hitler was really like ha... been eternally whitewashed by ... tempted documentary forgery.

Claus Heinrich ...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, ...)

The bureau that exposed a fraud

The Federal Archives in Koblenz, which has declared the alleged *Stern* Hitler diaries to be forgeries, was established in 1953.

Its job is to collect, order and scientifically evaluate records passed on from the Federal government and its departments.

The Archives was a central collecting-point for material seized by the three western Allies from the offices and departments of the Nazis during the war and handed back since.

During its first years, the Archives' main functions were to:

- Put into archives all existing material from the former Reich material found on Federal territory,
- Gather material on the activities of former German Reich authorities and of the Wehrmacht,
- Look after and register the material confiscated by the Allies during the war and handed back since.

According to the rules of procedure of the Federal ministers, those records which are older than 30 year can be used for research purposes, providing the Federal government has not ordered otherwise.

This Federal body has now become the central archives institution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The information stored in the stockrooms are accessible both to scientists and the public.

There are more than 70 kilometres of files, 52 million metres of documentary and feature films and about 1.2 million photos.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 9 May 1983)



SOCIETY

...hanging attitudes towards social security claims

...s a truism to say that more and ...re people are milking the welfare ... these days, but is it really true?

...e idea of social security scroungers ... widespread that like all deeply-...d ideas it merits closer scrutiny.

...e people really keener to wring a deutschemark out of the welfare ... than they were in years gone by?

...ly there were countless refugees ... victims of wartime bombing who ... overgenerous in assessing the ... of their loss with a view to getting ... in compensation.

...ermany's former Eastern territories ... have had their fair share of estates ... farms with first-rate arable land ... pastures.

...ut there were not anywhere near as ...y as the number for which compen...on was applied for in the post-war ...rs.

...any people in poor health were ...ally keen to be classified as war in...ds and qualify for a small pension.

...hat was how it was then and there is ...reason to expect it to be much diffe...t now. Only pie-in-the-sky idealists ...ld expect anything else to be the ...e.

...hy be suprised? It is surely a "heal..." instinct to try and capitalise on ...h provisions, earning for oneself and ...e's family the maximum profit at the ...st effort.

It used to be a matter of the fruits of ... forest, of venison and fish; now it is ... harvest of welfare legislation. Deriv... as much personal benefit as possi... is viewed as no mean aptitude.

...f there is any difference between ...n and now in the way in which the ...fare state is exploited, then it is less ... of the recipients than of the donors.

...he law has changed, and with it ...e who enforce it. A different out... prevails among government and ... authority, pension fund and court ...cials.

...lder people will remember what it ... to be like. Claimants were viewed ... mistrust. There were no free hand...s and no-one got anything for noth...

...fficials saw themselves as represen...ves of the state and their role to ... extent as that of preventing ex...itation of welfare provisions.

...ar invalids had endless trouble in ...uading welfare departments and ...ors to certify and acknowledge ... disability. Hundreds of thousands ...ppeals were filed.

...ow different it is today. The men ... women who administer welfare fa...es no longer feel they are the clai...ts' opponents; they are their allies.

...his is a change for the better but it ... have drawbacks. There can be no ...ying that the burgeoning cost of the ...are state is due in no small measure ...e obliging attitude taken by those ... administer it.

...hey are increasingly motivated by ... outlook that prompts the small ...pkeeper to ask the time-honoured ...stion: "Is it alright if it comes to a ... more?"

...nstead of rejecting unwarranted ...ms they feel obliged to tell clients ...y are entitled to apply for rent rebate ... for concessions here and subsidies ...re.

Let doubters ask friends and relations. Nearly everyone knows of an instance in which welfare provisions were virtually thrust upon people.

Where earnings limits or means tests apply, they are generously overridden.

The key to abuse of the welfare state is in the offices from which it is administered where a compliant, benevolent, help-yourself attitude is apparent.

What other explanation is there to account for phenomena such as the fact that there are far more people officially acknowledged as disabled now than there were after the war?

How else is one to account for the constant increase in the number of disability pensions? Last year one new pensioner in two retired early on health grounds.

The general public's bill of health has certainly not undergone a drastic decline.

Pension funds, doctors and welfare legislation are no longer as strict as they used to be in authorising a disability pension.

Wherever you look there seems to be a well-meaning collusion by the general public and welfare state officials to the welfare state's financial detriment.

The main consideration is no longer how to rule out unwarranted claims but how to lend a helping hand. Those who prefer, for reasons of pride or an uneasy conscience, not to make use of welfare provisions are viewed as either snobs or fools.

Officials still labour under the delusion that there are several million people entitled to social security facilities who for one reason or another fail to claim.

The fact is that there is no-one left to protect the welfare state from exploitation. Everyone takes a dip and generously hands out what isn't his to share, let alone claim.

Outsiders such as lawyers, doctors and the trade unions join in the fray, supplying expertise and legal arguments for entitlement. Why not, after all?

No-one wants to see a return to the authoritarian state of old, when claimants were treated like beggars. The obliging attitude taken by civil servants nowadays is just as it should be.

They are absolutely right in not just signing rejection slips but also telling people what their rights are.

But the other side of the coin must not be forgotten. The public coffers are open to all and there is no-one left to protect them from abuse.

How are we to resolve the dilemma and retain the "civil" civil servant while stemming the tide of financial claims on the welfare state?

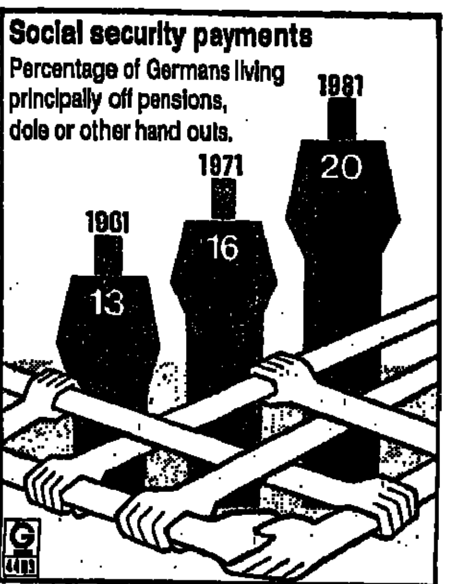
Welfare legislation seems the only answer. It at least must be made a little less obliging. Welfare entitlement must be specified; administrative leeway must be limited.

There must be no compunction in introducing means tests and income levels above which entitlement ceases.

Let civil servants by all means remain civil but they must be more strictly regulated in their opportunities of being overgenerous with money that isn't theirs to hand out without let or hindrance.

Arno Surminski

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 May 1983)



A case for cut-price everything for the unemployed

Why is it that pensioners, students and the disabled pay half-price or a reduced rate for all sorts of services when the unemployed have to pay the full price?

The growing number of people out of work enjoy no concessions at the opera or the public baths, on public transport or telephone bills or TV licence fees.

Yet many pensioners are much better off than the unemployed.

The Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, has taken the logical step of extending fare concessions on public transport in the Rhine and Ruhr regions to the jobless.

A growing number of people are out of work through no fault of their own, and they are likely to stay unemployed for a longer period.

Many cinemas sell cut-price tickets to people on the dole. Some cafes even sell them cut-price cups of coffee, Soccer clubs offer cut-price tickets.

But how do you prove you're out of work? This problem is solved in various ways. At Borussia Mönchengladbach, the Bundesliga soccer club, you need only to ask for a cut-price ticket at the turnstile.

While what people say is accepted for a single ticket, the club is still wondering how to cope with the problem when a soccer fan who says he is on the dole applies for a season ticket.

A special identity card for the unemployed has yet to be introduced, and no-one is keen on the idea, which brings back memories of the Weimar Republic and the Depression.

There need be no problem for people who get unemployment benefit. They are sent paperwork confirming their eligibility. But what about students or university graduates who are unable to find a job?

They can sign on at the labour exchange but that is no guarantee of a job, and as for unemployment benefit, you don't qualify until you have been in employment (and paying unemployment insurance) for a specified period.

So unemployed graduates who are caught in this particular trap qualify only for social security, and tht makes them even worse off than people drawing unemployment benefit.

The problem has so far been solved only in West Berlin, where the 80,000 unemployed have long qualified for cut-price tickets on public transport.

A card that entitles them to cut-price tickets is issued on presentation of notification of eligibility for unemployment benefit by the labour exchange and a form from the bearer's bank that he is getting a regular dole cheque.

Those who aren't but still don't have a job can present a special form issued by their registration officer at the labour exchange. Twelwe thousand people have so far done so.

Peter Thelen

(Handelsblatt, 4 May 1983)

It's harder for girls to find apprenticeships

Girls who apply for apprenticeships are rejected twice as often as boys, says the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg, which has launched an advertising campaign to persuade employers to give more school-leavers a chance.

The advertisements feature photographs of youngsters who have failed so far in their bid to find an employer who will hire them for a two- or three-year term as an apprentice.

The Nuremberg authority notes, in connection with the campaign that more girls are sent rejection slips despite the fact that they are usually better prepared for the apprenticeship they have in mind.

This claim is made on the basis of research by Hermine Kraft and Gerhard Engelbrech, who work for a research unit attached to the Nuremberg authority.

As a rule, they find, girls take particularly good care to ensure they are well qualified for the job training they are interested in.

They also apply to more prospective employers than boys do and are readier to consider something other than what they originally envisaged.

Girls are more willing to accept any apprenticeships available at the labour exchange. On average they have better grades and higher educational qualifications than boys on the lookout for similar jobs.

Yet despite having prepared more intensively for their prospective jobs, Kraft and Engelbrech say, girls are less successful than boys in their quest for an apprenticeship.

This is true of boys and girls who leave school — *Haupt-* or *Realschule* — at either 15 or 16.

One girl in four who leaves school at 15 fails to find an apprenticeship, This figure is twice as high as the number of boys in this category.

Twenty-two per cent of girls who leave school at 16 are unsuccessful, as against 13 per cent of boys.

Girls are more heavily dependent on any help the labour exchange can provide in their bids to find a job at which they will be trained.

One boy in two who left school at 15 in 1977 succeeded in finding an apprenticeship with the help of parents, friends and relations.

But only one girl in three found an apprenticeship in this way.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 May 1983)

■ FINANCE

Small town, big stakes: the heavyweights meet at Williamsburg

The one-horse town of Williamsburg, about 200 kilometres from Washington and with a population of 11,000, has never been what you could call a magnet for tourists.

But the end of this month 5,000 to 6,000 journalists from all over the world will gather for the economic summit meeting of the seven most important western industrialised nations.

Topics are the international economic and monetary problems, the fight against unemployment and protectionism and the relationship to the Third World.

Both President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl agree that the main aim will be to strengthen the already discernible recovery of the international economy.

What is needed is closer co-ordination and the Chancellor said he hopes that Williamsburg will provide "a signal of confidence and optimism".

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, would like to see a further impetus for the "new market-economy based offensive which is unmistakeably emerging on both sides of the Atlantic".

Such hopes are not new. They have accompanied the summit meeting ever since the first one was held in 1975.

At that time, the French President, Giscard d'Estaing, invited the heads of government of the USA, Britain, Japan, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and France to join him at the castle of Rambouillet, near Paris.

The final declaration referred to "the recovery of our economies and the reduction in the waste of human labour as a result of unemployment" as the main tasks facing the governments of these countries.

The urgency of these tasks has not lessened since that first meeting. The situation has worsened.

Today, the European Community alone has 12 million unemployed and the danger of internationally chronic economic weaknesses has still not been removed.

Critican appraisals of the summits, therefore, always return to the doubts expressed by a big West German weekly newspaper after the last economic summit in Versailles in June 1982:

"Can the pleasant-sounding words of Versailles change the world?"

Of course, they cannot. Yet the now traditional institution of annual top-level consultations has undoubtedly become an effective instrument for enabling a greater degree of joint co-ordination.

It is certainly more effective than a number of international organisations or bilateral talks between individual governments.

The fact that the government leaders must "justify" their go-it-alone activities or protectionist moves when they meet each year may help prevent them in the first place.

In many cases, the heads of state and the government leaders did not come along to the summits empty-handed.

In 1975, for example, where efforts centred on international monetary policies and the improvement of their co-ordination, particularly between the USA and France.

In 1978 (Bonn) and 1979 (Tokyo) clear answers were given to the tough challenge of the OPEC price policy.

The summit countries not only promised to reduce their respective levels of energy consumption but also fixed maximum limits to oil imports right up until 1985.

This "anti-oil" policy was confirmed at the Venice summit in 1980.

"We must remove the existing link between economic growth and oil consumprion", was the word put out by the top politicians at the summit.

Their aim was "to cut down the share of oil in our total level of energy requirements from the present level of 53 per cent to about 40 per cent by 1990."

The Federal Republic of Germany has made particular headway in this respect: the percentage share of oil in total primary energy consumption was already brought down to 44 per cent by 1982. This is the lowest level since the mid-sixties.

In the three years following the Tokyo summit the Federal [...] had already recuded it oil co[...] by a quarter.

Since 1979, the amount of [...] the western world has dropp[...] per cent.

All summits up to now [...] marked by the problems of [...] gy prices and attempts to com[...] with this development via [...] political reaction.

It is certainly no coincidence [...] first meeting followed the fir[...] shock in 1973/74 and that the [...] termined resistance to such [...] lopments followed the second [...] price increases in 1979/80.

State and government le[...] pressed their concern at the [...] the successive vast increases i[...] ces, which was in no way [...] market conditions.

They underlined a fact of [...] it would seem, is now being [...] the Opec countries themselves [...] they have realised the limits [...] power:

"The fact is that the ind[...] countries of the free world, [...] ducing countries and the [...] ducing developing countries [...] dependent. They must help [...] if they wish to guarantee pr[...] economic development and pr[...]

The realisation of this [...] seem to be the due reward fo[...] sistance shown by the seven [...] dustrialised nations.

"Politics is like drilling [...] planks of wood; you need [...] and a good eye at the same tim[...]

This classic definition by [...] German sociologist and econ[...]

Continued on page [...]

Hopes build over increasing trade with Soviet Union

There is a mood of conjecture over trade with the Soviet Union. Chancellor Kohl visits Moscow in July and there are hopes that new, gigantic-scale projects will be agreed.

Exceptions are even higher than they were over the last spectacular project, the construction of the Siberian pipeline.

Just before the invasion of Afghanistan, there was talk of billions of marks in orders, but German firms have hardly noticed any difference.

The Soviets concentrated on areas most beneficial to their own needs. And this, despite the fact that during this period their the party chief then, Leonid Brezhnev, himself visited Bonn.

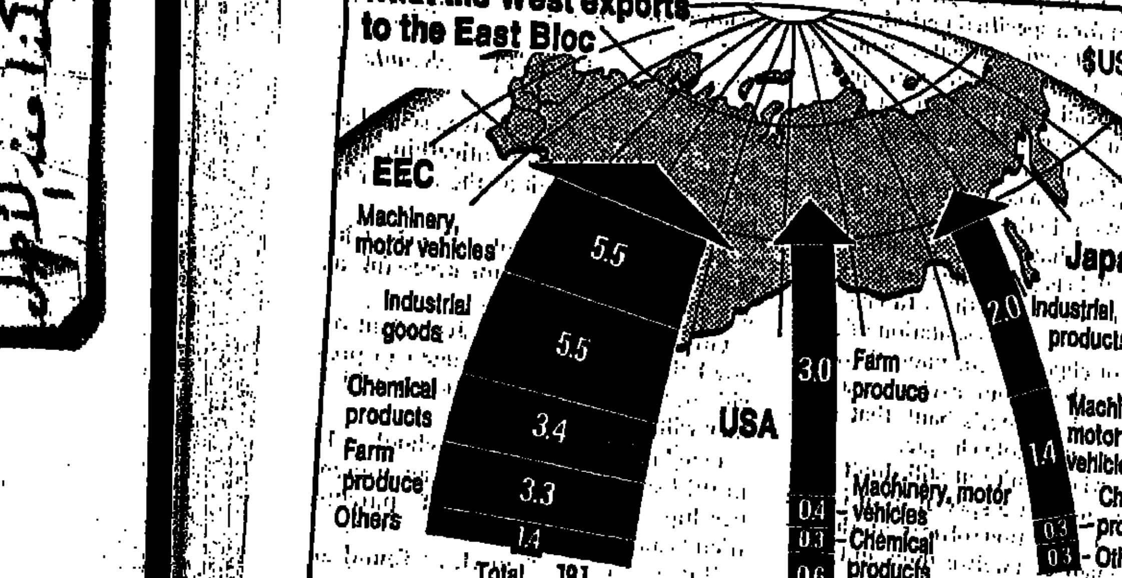
But there is new talk of the West-East Electricity Combine — with its rectifier stations, to be built by German firms.

This project was buried during the mid-seventies for political and economic reasons but is to be revived by reversing the direction of the flow of electricity.

The Federal Republic is now to become a supplier of electricity.

In view of the present discussions on energy policy in the Federal Republic this sort of speculation would seem better suited for a pub discussion than serious political consideration.

The American reports of extending natural gas supplies to Siberia belong in the same category.



There would seem to be more meat to speculations concerning the huge brown-coal fields in Kansk-Atschinsk. At least, they are know to exist.

It is also known that transporting this material would not be economical: It would have to be refined on the spot.

Talks about this with German firms have been going on for five years and it may well move up a ped on the Soviet priority list.

However, it is not likely to be tackled until the 1990s, although it is already a welcome topic for discussion.

Soviet diplomats and newspapers too are again resorting to the old stick and carrot method.

They are training their sights on the coming economic summit in Williamsburg and the deployment of American medium-range missiles.

The suggestion is made that the policy of detente led to an upswing in East-West trade and that the aggravation of the present climate will in turn lead to a worsening of such trade relations.

However, there is general agreement that the exchange of goods began to flourish after the East Bloc had ceased to regard foreign trade as a mere stop-gap to compensate for its own bottleneck situations and opened up its economy.

Up to now, there are no signs that there will be a fundamental change in this approach.

Those involved in trade with the East Bloc are therefore more concerned about the scrapping going o[...] West.

This dispute is not likely to b[...] main topic at the coming sum[...] high-level meeting. Cocom, the [...] dinating Committee for E[...] trade, has managed to com[...] arrangement which is intended [...] for the time being.

It has agreed that the milita[...] gic relevance of any particular [...] will be the decisive criterion [...] against exporting it to the E[...] countries. The Cocom list will [...] larly examined.

However, the fundamental d[...] ces between the Americans on [...] hand and the Western Europ[...] Japanese on the other with rega[...] importance of East-West trade [...] main.

Businesses are still uncertain [...] quarrel can break out again at a[...]

In some cases, this will hav[...] fects on actual trade, but not g[...]

The increase in West Germa[...] with the Soviet Union during [...] two months of this year (+ 45 p[...] cannot be projected on an annu[...]

For one thing, the supplies [...] pipeline are in full swing at the [...] and for another there will be a [...] in the earnings by the Soviets fr[...] oil sales.

This is likely to force the [...] Union to reduce its ordering [...] the West.

Everything would seem to [...] that trade will stick to its pres[...] and that its further developm[...] not be marked by surprises.

One businessman involved in [...] West trade described business [...] mal".

Hans-Jürgen M[...]
(Die Welt, 1[...])

■ THE EEC

Farm policy remains a mess as the squabbling continues

[M]ost people agree that the Common Agricultural Policy is over[due] for reform. Those who are in a [positi]on to take action know that [some]thing must be done. But they don't [know] what.

[Th]ere are many disturbing aspects of [the] EEC farm policy. Milk subsidies [cost] the taxpayer more than a million [...] an hour. Tons of food are des[troye]d to keep prices stable, yet people [in so]me parts of the world are starving.

[Set]backs are accepted and changes [...] in other areas of policy, but not in [farm] policy.

[Is] there really no alternative to the [all-ni]ght marathon meetings in Brussels [or Lu]xembourg, the hefty and often violent demonstrations by farmers, the [...]ge slogans and political black[mail]ing? The answer is, probably, no.

[Th]e history of the EEC is at the same [time] the history of never-ending quar[rels] about its expensive agricultural [subsi]dies and the acompanying political [repe]rcussions.

[Th]e out-and-out Europeans still remember too well the so-called "policy of the empty chair" practised by General de Gaulle during the mid-sixties.

National prestige was the main reason why France torpedoed the principle of majority decisons in the Council of Ministers.

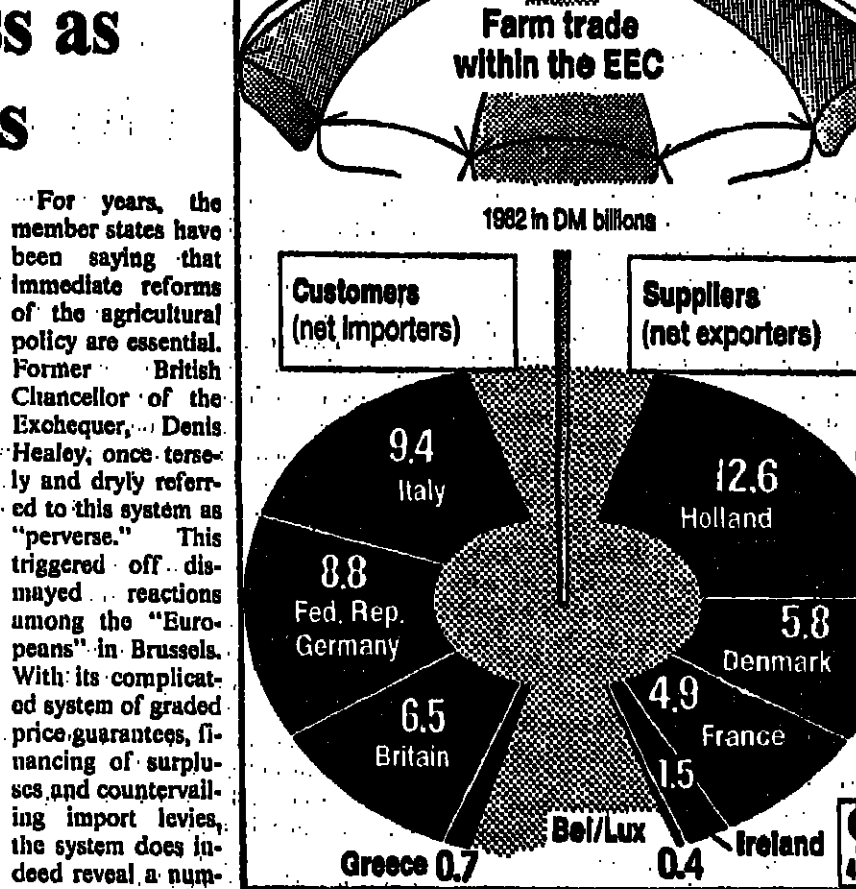
They finally managed to push through their demand of a right to veto in cases where "vital national interests" are at stake (the Luxembourg compromise).

This was certainly an uneasy compromise which has dogged many European initiatives ever since.

Attempts to change the Community's labour policy, to reform the financing of the Community budget, to help the ailing steel industry, or to develop some kind of joint foreign policy have all failed due to the principle of unanimity.

The ageless dispute over a common fisheries policy would have long since been solved had it not been for the compromise in Luxembourg.

Crises in the EEC are always marked by the same structures and symptoms.



For years, the member states have been saying that immediate reforms of the agricultural policy are essential. Former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey, once tersely and dryly referred to this system as "perverse." This triggered off dismayed reactions among the "Europeans" in Brussels. With its complicated system of graded price guarantees, financing of surpluses and countervailing import levies, the system does indeed reveal a number of inconsistencies. The negotiations, once referred to us a kind of poker, are usually characterised by tough wheeling and dealing.

Josef Ertl, who was the longest-serving EEC Minister of Agriculture, can tell us a thing or two about goings-on in Brussels.

In a recent radio programme he described one of the all-night sessions: "My colleague, Jacques Chirac, was always out to get that little bit extra for the French! I remember once, after long negotiations, with the sun beginning to rise, how he insisted on a 'negative corrective' with regard to the problem of milk. If someone were to ask me today what this means, I just couldn't give him an answer."

This example underlines the prestige involved in such negotiations.

European policies are very often the extended arm of national domestic policies.

The minister carrying out the negotiations is under constant pressure to bring a good result back home.

Klaus von Dohnanyi felt what it was like to come back without success after he had agreed to accept the British demand for a budgetary compensation four years ago.

He got a proper hiding when he got back home and was accused of having sacrificed billions of marks.

The "devaluation" countries — for example, France — have to accept a negative import countervailing levy.

Their exports are levied by about eight per cent, for example, at the Ger-

Continued on page 9

Just what the treasury doesn't need

[Fi]nance Minister Gerhard Stolten[berg] is not likely to be happy about [the] EEC Commission proposals to res[truc]ture community financing.

[At] home, he's been trying to save [ever]y mark he can to stop debt from ris[ing].

[N]ow, Brussels expects him to coun[tersi]gn a bill of exchange which asks [the] Federal Republic to pay a further [DM]3bn or DM4bn to the EEC a year.

[He]re's a comparison to give an idea [of th]e sum of money involved.

[Th]e reduction of grants for school[chil]dren, which triggered off such con[trov]ersy at home, dealt with a sum of [abou]t DM240m.

[St]oltenberg had already stated his [misgivi]ngs about the proposal during the [Ger]man Savings Banks annual meeting [a fe]w days ago.

[Th]e EEC cannot expect to enjoy unli[mite]d growth, said Stoltenberg, and [it] also learn to come to terms with [lowe]st growth rates. This sounds reaso[nabl]e, but it doesn't help solve the pro[blem].

[Th]e European Community is facing a [...]old financial problem. The next [few m]onths may already see it threaten[ed b]y insolvency due to the record har[vest] last year and the unfavourable de[velo]pment of international agricultural [pric]es, both of which have led to subs[tant]ial increases in costs.

[Th]ese costs, however, are the result of [deci]sions made by the Council of Mi[nist]ers, that is, by all ten governments.

[T]he respective finance ministers must [now] face up to the responsibility for the [con]sequences of these decisions.

[B]russels cannot be expected to com[plete th]e membership negotiations with [Spa]in and Portugal without having first [ame]nded the financial framework of the [Co]mmunity.

Just a few days ago, Chancellor Kohl promised Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe Gonzalez that he would support Spain's efforts to join the Community.

And the Chancellor knows only too well that this membership will not be free of charge.

The discussions on money for the EEC must, therefore, initially be carried out in Bonn.

The Chancellor and his Foreign Minister would like to buy Lady Europe a new dress, but Finance Minister Stoltenberg is not yet willing to open his wallet.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 May 1983)

Proposal to hit member states for bigger share of VAT

The EEC Commission has drawn up plans to change the financing of the Community. Its main proposal is to levy a larger share of value added tax from member states.

It wants to receive 1.4 per cent instead of the current one per cent. For the Federal Republic of Germany, this would mean finding DM3bn more a year. It now pays DM14.8bn a year to the EEC.

Nevertheless, Bonn's share of financing the community budget would drop slightly from 28 per cent to 27 per cent.

The Commissions's proposal must be accepted by the national parliaments. Brussels expects a final decision in about two years.

The Commission says that EEC just doesn't have enough money. There has been a noticeable increase in agricultural spending over the past few months.

The Commission said in June 1981 that spending on agricultural would increase faster than expected. It was right. Expenditure has increased much faster than revenue.

The Commission expects the Council of Ministers give a clear signal by coming to a decision on the prices of agricultural products.

It will not hesitate to make further suggestions if farm expenditure is not justified by either the internal needs of the community or the maintenance of traditional trade relations with trading partners.

An expansion of the community's own financial resources will not change this basic approach to solving the problems.

As a temporary measure to establish a better budgetary balance the Commission suggests diversifying resources.

It says a section of the resources resulting from value added tax must be subjected to an adjustment mechanism.

The Commission presupposes that the present sources of income will remain the same.

The customs duties resulting from the ECSC treaty ought to be included in the community's general budget and not represent a separate item.

A fixed repayment contribution no longer appears appropriate.

The Commission therefore suggests tht this contribution should on no account exceed 10 per cent.

It feels that VAT should remain the keystone for the financial autonomy of the Community.

If the need arises, the increase to 1.4 per cent should be backed by further increases of 0.4 per cent each time.

As long as agricultural accounts for the main part of community spending, the community's revenue should be diversified.

As a transitional solution, the Commission suggests that part of the VAT revenue should be covered as variable contributions until the guarantee figures for agriculture, which have up to now accounted for 66 per cent of the total budget, are reduced to 33 per cent.

The variable VAT amounts should be fixed within a number of indicators.

The complicated nature of the expressions used shows how difficult it is for the Commission to make progress in this field.

Each member country should in future be assessed according to its own prosperity level and its share of the net community surplus will reflect the dynamics and the profitability of its own economy.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 May 1983)

■ FINANCE

Small town, big stakes: the heavyweights meet at Williamsburg

The one-horse town of Williamsburg, about 200 kilometres from Washington and with a population of 11,000, has never been what you could call a magnet for tourists.

But the end of this month 5,000 to 6,000 journalists from all over the world will gather for the economic summit meeting of the seven most important western industrialised nations.

Topics are the international economic and monetary problems, the fight against unemployment and protectionism and the relationship to the Third World.

Both President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl agree that the main aim will be to strengthen the already discernible recovery of the international economy.

What is needed is closer co-ordination and the Chancellor said he hopes that Williamsburg will provide "a signal of confidence and optimism".

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, would like to see a further impetus for the "new market-economy based offensive which is unmistakeably emerging on both sides of the Atlantic".

Such hopes are not new. They have accompanied the summit meeting ever since the first one was held in 1975.

At that time, the French President, Giscard d'Estaing, invited the heads of government of the USA, Britain, Japan, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and France to join him at the castle of Rambouillet, near Paris.

The final declaration referred to "the recovery of our economies and the reduction in the waste of human labour as a result of unemployment" as the main tasks facing the governments of these countries.

The urgency of these tasks has not lessened since that first meeting. The situation has worsened.

Today, the European Community alone has 12 million unemployed and the danger of internationally chronic economic weaknesses has still not been removed.

Critican appraisals of the summits, therefore, always return to the doubts expressed by a big West German weekly newspaper after the last economic summit in Versailles in June 1982:

"Can the pleasant-sounding words of Versailles change the world?"

Of course, they cannot. Yet the now traditional institution of annual top-level consultations has undoubtedly become an effective instrument for enabling a greater degree of joint co-ordination.

It is certainly more effective than a number of international organisations or bilateral talks between individual governments.

The fact that the government leaders must "justify" their go-it-alone activities or protectionist moves when they meet each year may help prevent them in the first place.

In many cases, the heads of state and the government leaders did not come along to the summits empty-handed.

In 1975, for example, where efforts centred on international monetary policies and the improvement of their coordination, particularly between the USA and France.

In 1978 (Bonn) and 1979 (Tokyo) clear answers were given to the tough challenge of the OPEC price policy.

The summit countries not only promised to reduce their respective levels of energy consumption but also fixed maximum limits to oil imports right up until 1985.

This "anti-oil" policy was confirmed at the Venice summit in 1980.

"We must remove the existing link between economic growth and oil consumprion", was the word put out by the top politicians at the summit.

Their aim was "to cut down the share of oil in our total level of energy requirements from the present level of 53 per cent to about 40 per cent by 1990."

The Federal Republic of Germany has made particular headway in this respect: the percentage share of oil in total primary energy consumption was already brought down to 44 per cent by 1982. This is the lowest level since the mid-sixties.

In the three years following the Tokyo summit the Federal [...] had already recuded it oil co[...] by a quarter.

Since 1979, the amount of [...] the western world has dropp[...] per cent.

All summits up to now h[...] marked by the problems of [...]gy prices and attempts to com[...] with this development vi[...] political reaction.

It is certainly no coinciden[...] first meeting followed the firs[...] shock in 1973/74 and that the [...]termined resistance to such [...]lopments followed the second [...] price increases in 1979/80.

State and government lea[...] pressed their concern at the [...] the successive vast increases [...]ces, which was in no way [...] market-conditions.

They underlined a fact of [...] it would seem, is now being [...] the Opec countries themselves [...] they have realised the limits [...] power:

"The fact is that the indu[...] countries of the free world, th[...] ducing countries and the no[...] ducing developing countries [...] dependent. They must help ea[...] if they wish to guarantee pr[...] economic development and pr[...]

The realisation of this fa[...] seem to be the due reward fo[...] sistance shown by the seven [...]dustrialised nations.

"Politics is like drilling [...] planks of wood; you need [...] and a good eye at the same tim[...]

This classic definition by [...] German sociologist and econo[...]

Continued on page 7

Hopes build over increasing trade with Soviet Union

There is a mood of conjecture over trade with the Soviet Union. Chancellor Kohl visits Moscow in July and there are hopes that new, gigantic-scale projects will be agreed.

Exceptions are even higher than they were over the last spectacular project, the construction of the Siberian pipeline.

Just before the invasion of Afghanistan, there was talk of billions of marks in orders, but German firms have hardly noticed any difference.

The Soviets concentrated on areas most beneficial to their own needs. And this, despite the fact that during this period their the party chief then, Leonid Brezhnev, himself visited Bonn.

But there is new talk of the West-East Electricity Combine — with its rectifier stations, to be built by German firms.

This project was buried during the mid-seventies for political and economic reasons but is to be revived by reversing the direction of the flow of electricity.

The Federal Republic is now to become a supplier of electricity.

In view of the present discussions on energy policy in the Federal Republic this sort of speculation would seem better suited for a pub discussion than serious political consideration.

The American reports of extending natural gas supplies to Siberia belong in the same category.

What the West exports to the East Bloc

1981 in $US billions

EEC: Machinery, motor vehicles 5.5; Industrial goods 5.5; Chemical products 3.4; Farm produce 3.3; Others 1.4; Total 19.1

USA: Farm produce 3.0; Machinery, motor vehicles 0.4; Chemical products 0.3; Others 0.6; Total 4.3

Japan: Industrial products 2.0; Machinery, motor vehicles 1.4; Chemical products 0.3; Others 0.3; Total 4.0

There would seem to be more meat to speculations concerning the huge brown-coal fields in Kansk-Atschinsk. At least, they are know to exist.

It is also known that transporting this material would not be economical. It would have to be refined on the spot.

Talks about this with German firms have been going on for five years and it may well move up a ped on the Soviet priority list.

However, it is not likely to be tackled until the 1990s, although it is already a welcome topic for discussion.

Soviet diplomats and newspapers too are again resorting to the old stick and carrot method.

They are training their sights on the coming economic summit in Williamsburg and the deployment of American medium-range missiles.

The suggestion is made that the policy of detente led to an upswing in East-West trade and that the aggravation of the present climate will in turn lead to a worsening of such trade relations.

However, there is general agreement that the exchange of goods began to flourish after the East Bloc had ceased to regard foreign trade as a mere stopgap to compensate for its own bottleneck situations and opened up its economy.

Up to now, there are no signs that there will be a fundamental change in this approach.

Those involved in trade with the East Bloc are therefore more concerned about the scrapping going a[...] West.

This dispute is not likely to b[...] main topic at the coming sum[...] high-level meeting. Cocom, th[...] dinating Committee for E[...] trade, has managed to com[...] arrangement which is intended [...] for the time being.

It has agreed that the milita[...] gic relevance of any particular [...] will be the decisive criterion [...] against exporting it to the E[...] countries. The Cocom list will [...] larly examined.

However, the fundamental d[...] ces between the Americans on [...] hand and the Western Europe[...] Japanese on the other with rega[...] importance of East-West trade [...] main.

Businesses are still uncertai[...] quarrel can break out again at a[...]

In some cases, this will hav[...] fects on actual trade, but not g[...]

The increase in West Germa[...] with the Soviet Union during [...] two months of this year (+ 45 p[...] cannot be projected on an annua[...]

For one thing, the supplies [...] pipeline are in full swing at the [...] and for another there will be a d[...] in the earnings by the Soviets fro[...] oil sales.

This is likely to force the [...] Union to reduce its ordering [...] the West.

Everything would seem to [...] that trade will stick to its prese[...] and that its further developme[...] not be marked by surprises.

One businessman involved i[...] West trade described business a[...]mal".

Hans-Jürgen M[...]

(Die Welt, 7 [...])



THE EEC

Farm policy remains a mess as the squabbling continues

[M]ost people agree that the Common Agricultural Policy is over[...] for reform. Those who are in a [...]on to take action know that [...]hing must be done. But they don't [...] what.

[The]re are many disturbing aspects of EEC farm policy. Milk subsidies [...]the taxpayer more than a million [...] an hour. Tons of food are des[...] to keep prices stable, yet people [...] parts of the world are starving.

[...]backs are accepted and changes [...] in other areas of policy, but not in [...] policy.

[...] there really no alternative to the [...]ight marathon meetings in Brussels [...]xembourg, the hefty and often violent demonstrations by farmers, the [...]ge slogans and political black[...]ing? The answer is, probably, no.

[...] history of the EEC is at the same [...] the history of never-ending quar[...] about its expensive agricultural [...]ies and the acompanying political [...]cussions.

[...] out-and-out Europeans still remember too well the so-called "policy of the empty chair" practised by General de Gaulle during the mid-sixties.

National prestige was the main reason why France torpedoed the principle of majority decisons in the Council of Ministers.

They finally managed to push through their demand of a right to veto in cases where "vital national interests" are at stake (the Luxembourg compromise).

This was certainly an uneasy compromise which has dogged many European initiatives ever since.

Attempts to change the Community's labour policy, to reform the financing of the Community budget, to help the ailing steel industry, or to develop some kind of joint foreign policy have all failed due to the principle of unanimity.

The ageless dispute over a common fisheries policy would have long since been solved had it not been for the compromise in Luxembourg.

Crises in the EEC are always marked by the same structures and symptoms.

For years, the member states have been saying that immediate reforms of the agricultural policy are essential. Former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey, once tersely and dryly referred to this system as "perverse." This triggered off dismayed reactions among the "Europeans" in Brussels. With its complicated system of graded price guarantees, financing of surpluses and countervailing import levies, the system does indeed reveal a number of inconsistencies. The negotiations, once referred to as a kind of poker, are usually characterised by tough wheeling and dealing.

Farm trade within the EEC

1982 in DM billions

Customers (net importers): Italy 9.4; Fed. Rep. Germany 8.8; Britain 6.5; Greece 0.7

Suppliers (net exporters): Holland 12.6; Denmark 5.8; France 4.9; Bel/Lux 1.5; Ireland 0.4

Josef Ertl, who was the longest-serving EEC Minister of Agriculture, can tell us a thing or two about goings-on in Brussels.

In a recent radio programme he described one of the all-night sessions: "My colleague, Jacques Chirac, was always out to get that little bit extra for the French! I remember once, after long negotiations, with the sun beginning to rise, how he insisted on a 'negative corrective' with regard to the problem of milk. If someone were to ask me today what this means, I just couldn't give him an answer."

This example underlines the prestige involved in such negotiations.

European policies are very often the extended arm of national domestic policies.

The minister carrying out the negotiations is under constant pressure to bring a good result back home.

Klaus von Dohnanyi felt what it was like to come back without success after he had agreed to accept the British demand for a budgetary compensation four years ago.

He got a proper hiding when he got back home and was accused of having sacrificed billions of marks.

The "devaluation" countries — for example, France — have to accept a negative import countervailing levy.

Their exports are levied by about eight per cent, for example, at the Ger-

Continued on page 9

Just what the treasury doesn't need

[F]inance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is not likely to be happy about [...] EEC Commission proposals to res[...]ure community financing.

[At] home, he's been trying to save [...]y mark he can to stop debt from ris[...]

[N]ow, Brussels expects him to coun[...]n a bill of exchange which asks [...] Federal Republic to pay a further [...]bn or DM4bn to the EEC a year.

[He]re's a comparison to give an idea [...] sum of money involved.

[Th]e reduction of grants for school[...]dren, which triggered off such con[...]ersy at home, dealt with a sum of [...] DM240m.

[St]oltenberg had already stated his [...]ngs about the proposal during the [...]an Savings Banks annual meeting [...] days ago.

[Th]e EEC cannot expect to enjoy unli[...]d growth, said Stoltenberg, and [...] also learn to come to terms with [...]est growth rates! This sounds reaso[...], but it doesn't help solve the pro[...]

[Th]e European Community is facing a [...]old financial problem. The next [...]months may already see it threaten[...] insolvency due to the record har[...] last year and the unfavourable de[...]pment of international agricultural [...], both of which have led to subs[...]al increases in costs.

[T]hese costs, however, are the result of [...]sions made by the Council of Mi[...]rs, that is, by all ten governments.

[T]he respective finance ministers must [...] face up to the responsibility for the [...]equences of these decisions.

[B]russels cannot be expected to com[...] membership negotiations with [Sp]ain and Portugal without having first [...]ended the financial framework of the [C]ommunity.

Just a few days ago, Chancellor Kohl promised Spain's Prime Minister, Felipo Gonzalez that he would support, Spain's efforts to join the Community.

And the Chancellor knows only too well that this membership will not be free of charge.

The discussions on money for the EEC must, therefore, initially be carried out in Bonn.

The Chancellor and his Foreign Minister would like to buy Lady Europe a new dress, but Finance Minister Stoltenberg is not yet willing to open his wallet.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 May 1983)

Proposal to hit member states for bigger share of VAT

The EEC Commission has drawn up plans to change the financing of the Community. Its main proposal is to levy a larger share of value added tax from member states.

It wants to receive 1.4 per cent instead of the current one per cent. For the Federal Republic of Germany, this would mean finding DM3bn more a year. It now pays DM14.8bn a year to the EEC.

Nevertheless, Bonn's share of financing the community budget would drop slightly from 28 per cent to 27 per cent.

The Commissions's proposal must be accepted by the national parliaments. Brussels expects a final decision in about two years.

The Commission says that EEC just doesn't have enough money. There has been a noticeable increase in agricultural spending over the past few months.

The Commission said in June 1981 that spending on agricultural would increase faster than expected. It was right. Expenditure has increased much faster than revenue.

The Commission expects the Council of Ministers give a clear signal by coming to a decision on the prices of agricultural products.

It will not hesitate to make further suggestions if farm expenditure is not justified by either the internal needs of the community or the maintenance of traditional trade relations with trading partners.

An expansion of the community's own financial resources will not change this basic approach to solving the problems.

As a temporary measure to establish a better budgetary balance the Commission suggests diversifying resources.

It says a section of the resources resulting from value added tax must be subjected to an adjustment mechanism.

The Commission presupposes that the present sources of income will remain the same.

The customs duties resulting from the ECSC treaty ought to be included in the community's general budget and not represent a separate item.

A fixed repayment contribution no longer appears appropriate.

The Commission therefore suggests tht this contribution should on no account exceed 10 per cent.

It feels that VAT should remain the keystone for the financial autonomy of the Community.

If the need arises, the increase to 1.4 per cent should be backed by further increases of 0.4 per cent each time.

As long as agricultural accounts for the main part of community spending, the community's revenue should be diversified.

As a transitional solution, the Commission suggests that part of the VAT revenue should be covered as variable contributions until the guarantee figures for agriculture, which have up to now accounted for 66 per cent of the total budget, are reduced to 33 per cent.

The variable VAT amounts should be fixed within a number of indicators.

The complicated nature of the expressions used shows how difficult it is for the Commission to make progress in this field.

Each member country should in future be assessed according to its own prosperity level and its share of the net community surplus will reflect the dynamics and the profitability of its own economy.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 May 1983)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Time is running out for missile negotiators

Time is fast running out for the US and Soviet delegations at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles in Europe.

If they fail to reach agreement the West will go ahead at the end of the year with missile modernisation plans that have been in the pipeline since the end of 1979.

The first new US missiles will then be scheduled for installation in five Western European countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany.

In December 1979 Nato gave itself four years in which to negotiate a missile agreement with the Soviet Union in Europe.

Time will soon run out, and what will happen when the first Pershing 2 missiles arrive in Germany? This is a question both supporters and opponents of missile modernisation are asking.

They all make a livelihood out of converting differences of opinion into major clashes, whereas what is needed now is to find out what views are held in common, and not where the differences lie.

This is as true of the Geneva talks as it is of the domestic missile debate in Germany.

The two sides in Geneva have not made much headway, neither on fundamental points nor on detail.

The Soviet Union wants to prevent the United States from stationing medium-range missiles in Europe yet wants to retain the right itself.

That explains why Moscow had called for the number of British and French strategic weapons to be taken as the yardstick for Soviet medium-range missiles.

The Russians want to limit not only missiles but also nuclear bombers in Europe, yet in such a way that the number of US strategic bombers in Europe is reduced, and not their own.

They also continue to oppose any idea of a worldwide limitation in land-based medium-range missiles, preferring to limit the talks to missiles in Europe and to retain a free hand in Asia.

All these points are unacceptable to the United States and to the West as a whole. So there are sound reasons for doubting whether the Geneva talks will achieve results.

But that would be unnecessarily pessimistic. The two sides are still talking, and their positions remain ambiguous enough to leave room for compromise.

Take the latest offer by the Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, to count not just the number of missiles but the number of warheads in any agreement.

That is certainly similar to what the West has in mind. Soviet SS-20s each have three independently targetable warheads, whereas the planned new US missiles have only a single one (as do the current British and French missiles).

"We do not want the Soviet Union to have more missiles and warheads than Nato," Mr Andropov said in an after-dinner address in honour of the visiting GDR leader, Herr Honecker.

It remains to be seen whether this new formula will be sufficient to override fundamental differences.

Is the Soviet Union prepared to agree to much more far-reaching cuts in the number of its SS-20s than has been supposed?

Might it be prepared to accept both British and French nuclear weapons and a measure of US missile modernisation? Experts are disagreed on this point.

Mr Andropov's statement certainly cannot be said to rule out a compromise. So Mr Reagan, who is otherwise quick to dismiss Soviet bids, is right in assessing this latest Soviet initiative as a positive step.

It must now be sounded out in Geneva. There is no reason for yet assuming that missile modernisation in full is absolutely inevitable.

There is no cause for abandoning the traditional consensus among established political parties in Bonn on security policy either.

The Bundestag debate on the government's policy statement undeniably highlighted the differences between the coalition parties and the Social Democrats.

There is a growing inclination in the SPD to oppose missile modernisation at its party conference this autumn regardless of failure to reach agreement in Geneva.

In calling for renewed consideration whether new missiles might not be based at sea rather than on land the Social Democrats are virtually scuppering the dual-track Nato resolution.

This idea was reviewed in 1979 and rejected by a majority of Nato countries, especially the Scandinaviens.

Some Social Democrats are particularly harsh in their criticism of President Reagan because they hope to be able to show that the United States has not done its utmost, as Chancellor Schmidt put it last October, to come to terms with the Soviet Union.

They would then arguably find it easier to justify going back on the Nato resolution.

Yet despite their evident malaise the leaders of the SPD Bundestag Opposition are still in favour of the essentials of the Nato resolution.

Points shared on both sides of the House are readily found:

● Government and Opposition are agreed in several respects on the Soviet arms build-up.

"The Soviet Union," Social Democrat Horst Ehmke only recently told the Bundestag, "created the entire problem in the first place with its SS-20 missile build-up."

● Soviet offers so far are likewise agreed to have been inadequate. "They don't go far enough," says Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel.

● Christian and Social Democrats agree on the need to plan for and announce details of missile modernisation to pressure the Soviet Union into negotiating seriously.

The SPD would admittedly like to see the deadline for negotiations extended.

● Both are clearly committed to the Atlantic alliance. "It is not at issue as far as we are concerned," Herr Vogel has said, "and certainly not negotiable."

The SPD leaders' views are not as unambiguous as they were in Helmut Schmidt's days but they still retain much of the consensus that h[...] ed on Bonn's foreign policy f[...] years.

It is a consensus, and a f[...] cy, that has made the Federal [...] of Germany consistent and p[...] in world affairs.

These views shared must [...] soned until it is absolutely [...] agreement has grown merely [...] and that is not yet the case.

Consensus can be prematu[...] down for the count. It migh[...] survive failure to reach agr[...] Geneva, but what if agreem[...] be reached by the superpowers[...]

What if limitation of medi[...] missiles were to be accomp[...] missile modernisation at a [...] level?

That could be the outcome [...] lar to the informal agreeme[...] last summer by the two chief [...] Mr Nitze of the United Stat[...] Kvitzinski of the Soviet Union.

Their idea was for the Sov[...] to scrap or withdraw all but 7[...] 20s (with three warheads ea[...] the West installed 75 Cruis[...] (with four missiles each) in Eu[...]

Horst Ehmke hinted in his [...] speech that the Social Democ[...] well-disposed toward this ide[...] there really be no question of [...] tion and the major Opposi[...] jointly backing some such co[...]

A successful outcome at G[...] just as important for the main[...] political consensus in the Fe[...] public of Germany.

This consensus has already [...] backslide. If it were to give w[...] ther a deep political rift wo[...] extending much further than [...] sile debate.

No-one can be interested i[...] clash, certainly not the coalition[...] who cannot be keen on a co[...] mestic dispute.

The Social Democrats are u[...] relish the prospect either. By [...] missile modernisation they m[...] themselves the political outsi[...] were in the 1950s.

Bonn's allies cannot want th[...] pen. A West Germany rent by [...] strife would hardly be the pa[...] wanted.

Can the Soviet Union seri[...] pect to reap long-term rewards [...] mestic strife in the Federal R[...] Surely a harder line in East-W[...] would be more likely to ensue.

There is no guarantee, of co[...] America and Russia will come [...] on a reasonable compromise. T[...] be no justification of a compr[...] any price either.

Nato cannot shirk the conse[...] of its resolutions if it is to reta[...] cal credibility, but failure to a[...] compromise would be a costly f[...]

This is a point to be borne i[...] both at the Geneva talks and in [...] mestic debate.

The stationing or non-statio[...] new missiles in Western Europe [...] mean the end of politics: n[...] East-West ties nor at home.

It will continue to be a matte[...] suring that the thread of neg[...] with the Soviet Union, thin th[...] may have grown, is not broken [...]

Mr Andropov's offer leads o[...] sume that Moscow would not li[...] that happen either.

And even after the missiles [...] tioned (or not) there will still b[...] gent need to retain, if at all p[...] agreement between the major p[...] the Bundestag on matters of sec[...]

Christoph B[...]

(Die Zeit, 1[...])

ROAD SAFETY

Beginners' licence planned in bid to cut motorcycle death toll

[...]restricted motorcyclist's licence is [...]to be introduced next year. Begin[...] will be allowed to ride small ma[...]s only. They will qualify for a full [...]ce only when they have proved [...]selves.

[...]onn has also announced that stan[...]s at driving schools are to be im[...]ed.

[...] steps are a response to the heavy [...] toll involving motorcyclists. Last [...] 1,986 riders died on German [...]; 33,000 were seriously injured; [...]65,000 received minor injuries.

[...]ne person in five injured last year in [...] accidents was on a motorcycle. [...]istically, half of those injured se[...]sly enough to be taken to hospital [...] be crippled for life.

[...]otorcyclists seem, despite the statis[...] to have a sanguine approach to the [...]ger. A doctor in the emergency ward [...] Frankfurt hospital, Martin Börner, [...] they regard their accidents as mere [...]cadilloes.

[...]e cites as an example a company [...]naging director, a local man, who [...] brought in for an emergency opera[...]. He had seriously bruised his head [...] needed surgery for a severe hae[...]rrhage.

[...]We had to saw half his skull open," [...] Börner says, "and take out the hae[...]orrhage. Then we put the lid back on [...]d now he is back on his bike."

[...]he patient, a man in his mid-40s [...] sees no reason why he should wear [...]elmet, promptly bought a 1,000-cc [...] to replace the 750-cc one he had [...]shed up.

[...]is new bike develops roughly 100 [...] horse power and accelerates to [...] from a standing start in just over [...] seconds. At full throttle it easily [...]eeds the metric double ton: 200kph, [...]25mph.

[...]any motorcyclists are lucky and [...] in hospital. Others are taken [...]ight to the mortuary.

Every spring there is a fresh crop of young motorcyclists with no training on country roads. The longer and worse the winter was, the more they are raring to go.

No-one at a seminar in Sindelfingen, near Stuttgart, held by the Bonn Transport Ministry went so far as to call motorcyclists potential suicides, but the facts and figures speak for themselves.

The overall cost of all the deaths and injuries is estimated at over DM4bn a year, and that is only the material damage. It does not include ruined lives and families.

The Frankfurt hospital is one of nine of its kind in Germany and its statistics may be regarded as typical for the country as a whole.

Over a four-year period it treated 363 motorcyclists rushed in from the scene of traffic accidents. Nearly half (47.3 per cent, or 172) were crocked for life.

Twenty-eight are now paraplegics, or wheelchair-bound cripples. Eight have been paralysed in both arms and legs. They will need looking after for the rest of their lives.

They will find it incredibly difficult to learn and practise a trade, and in many cases they will never have families of their own.

There is also a significant increase in the number of fractured shins, which are typical of the trend toward heavier bikes.

As a general rule the bigger the bike the more serious the accident. The average patient spends 23 weeks in hospital, but it can take anything up to two and three quarter years for an open fracture of the shin to mend.

On average the hospital is paid DM35,500 for treatment, but the actual cost is far higher. A day in an intensive care ward costs DM2,500.

Yet nothing seems to deter bike-lovers: neither facts and figures nor accident photos designed to shock (although neither the police nor road safety instructors use them) nor the prospect of eking out their days as cripples. "They are well aware of the risk but still go ahead," says Dr Börner. Most patients order a new bike from their hospital beds, and even paraplegics eagerly read motorcycling magazines. Bikes are often even sold from one hospital bed to another, he claims. Beginners run the greatest risk. Most motorcycle accident victims are aged between 15 and 25. They account for one road crash in three in which only one party is involved.

Thirteen per cent are moped-users (out of 2,760,000 motorised two-wheelers registered in the Federal Republic of Germany).

Crashes are mainly due to high speed and alcohol. In 50 per cent of crashes involving a car and a motorcycle the cyclist is the victim. In 80 per cent of crashes involving a car and a moped the cyclist is the loser.

Moped-users are often drunk and careless. Other road-users often tend to ignore their right-of-way, whereas kids on smaller bikes themselves tend to disregard right-of-way. What is more, about six bikes in 10 have been souped up for extra speed and acceleration. Motorcycles have been around for 115 years, but the motorcyclist is still a largely unknown quantity. What prompts an ordinary person to get on a bike that he is statistically sure to have an accident on? Why were fewer motorcyclists involved in crashes in the 1950s, even though there were many more bikes in use in the country then? Accident research workers are looking into the matter. Politicians are alarmed. Lawmakers are looking for ways of stemming the tide of accidents and victims. None of them are prepared to admit it is late in the day to start thinking it over. No-one foresaw the trend. But the growing number of two-wheelers continues to grow.

...can become this.

(Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)



The trouble is that this (see picture below) ...

(Photo: dpa)

New registrations were up 70 per cent in 1981 over 1980, whereas new registrations of private cars were down four per cent.

There are currently 11 motorcycles per 1,000 head of population. If the trend continues unabated there will be 29 by the end of the decade.

Hamburg Unversity sociologist Peter Schmidl has taken a closer look at the motorcyclist's mind, especially the younger and juvenile motorcyclist's.

Biking nowadays is mainly a leisure pursuit; it used to be strictly a means of transport and as such was used mainly for getting to and from work.

Half the motorcyclists he dealt with were working-class in origin and often suffered from a lack of social recognition.

Biking, Schmidl says, is a well-nigh ideal way of working off steam for these youngsters.

So the motorcycle is, as far as they are concerned, mainly a means by which to offset social deficits and less a hobby or leisure activity.

If the age at which the moped kids joint the two-wheeler ranks is borne in mind it will be realised that motorcyclists as a whole are a group suffering from errors, failures and disappointments.

Biking provides an opportunity of compensating for the upsets of everyday life. It is an adventure. It is also felt to be an ideal means of getting to know other people.

So the Hamburg sociologist concludes that the motorcycle is best described as an "instrument of status rivalry on the road between people of unequal social status."

Schmidl himself has ridden a motorcycle for 20 years and is a longstanding member of a Hamburg motorcycle club with which he regularly goes on outings.

"A large proportion of motorcyclists not only feel the need for self-assertion and compensation of social deficits," he says.

"They also feel that 'freedom on two

Continued on page 12

Farm policy

Continued from page 7

[...]n border in an effort to guarantee [...]ual opportunity for the suppliers on [...] markets of member states.

[...]owever, this currency differential [...]ween France and the Federal Repu[...] has become an extremely sore point [...]ween the two countries, and the [...]nch Minister of Agriculture, Michel [...]card, believes that the system itself [...]ds to a distortion of competition.

[...]he levy must be cut by about five [...] cent. Even at the present compromi[...] level of three per cent, the German [...]mers wouldn't see much left of the [...] per cent price increase.

[...]gnaz Kiechle, the German Minister [...] Agriculture, cannot accept this. To [...]ke matters more difficult, Herr [...]echle is also the head of the EEC [...]uncil until June. So there will have to [...] more bargaining, just like in an [...]ental bazaar.

[...]hings just don't change. All the [...]ggling and squabbling tends to the [...]r the fact that reform is overdue.

Rainer Burchardt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 8 May 1983)

■ HEALTH

Profit motive + public interest = moves towards eliminating asbestos

It has been known for 50 years that asbestos fibre mined in Canada, South Africa and the Soviet Union is dangerous.

Yet that did not halt the triumphant progress of inexpensive and invaluable asbestos products all over the world.

Nothing happened until the 1970s in Germany. Then, action was prompted by a variety of causes and fears, including the emergence of a new environmental awareness.

It was combined with accident research findings indicating dozens of asbestosis deaths and US statistics showing that workers using asbestos for insulation ran five to seven times the average risk of lung cancer.

Then the closure of 35 gymnasiums all over Germany made headline news. They were all asbestos-insulated and said to be an asbestos dust health hazard.

It took all this before progress made headway and it was generally agreed that satisfactory substitutes and alternatives to asbestos had to be found.

They weren't found overnight. Even now, years later, the asbestos industry is still complaining that the entire issue was dealt with over-emotionally, irresponsibly and out of all proportion.

There is said to be a world of difference between varieties of asbestos. Manufacturers say the spraying process, which has been banned in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1979, is much more dangerous than finished products made of asbestos cement.

Asbestos spraying is claimed to release much more asbestos in the form of fine dust that can affect the lungs, whereas finished products are little more of a health hazard than the occasional cigarette.

A note of sorrowful farewell was even sounded at a gathering called in Berlin by Eternit, the principal manufacturers of asbestos cement in Germany.

The organisers seemed sorry to wave goodbye to the grey mixture of asbestos fibre, cement and water that seems to be around just about everywhere.

It is used for roof tiles and window boxes, brake linings and drainpipes, and it isn't simply inexpensive: it's acidproof, fireproof, weatherproof and tensionproof.

There can be few materials that combine so many invaluable properties. Unfortunately it is also a health hazard.

Such occasions also present a convenient opportunity of saying how long ago (a decade or more) the company embarked on the quest for a substitute for asbestos fibre, so keenly was it aware of the health risk.

Yet board chairman Ernst Thöni frankly admitted that the growing scarcity and skyrocketing price of asbestos on world markets had been the main reason for the quest in the first place.

The health debate undoubtedly accelerated the process, but the third and overriding factor that prompted the snail of progress to get a move on was an even more telling one.

In Karl Marx's anniversary year ideologists might well be tempted to claim a victory for the working classes in their struggle against capitalism.

The fact is simply that people stopped buying asbestos. In 1981 the asbestos industry was plunged into its most serious crisis since the war.

The recession was bad enough. Coupled with a virtual consumer boycott it forced manufacturers to lay off a third of their work force.

"People simply insisted on asbestos-free products," Herr Thöni said. The market had its say, and the resulting struggle for survival meant overtime for research and development divisions.

That will have been the reason why the industry, after a few initial clashes and months of talks, came to terms with Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and agreed last year on an innovation programme.

They did so at a time when asbestos products were already subject to controls or banned in Scandinavia.

The Bonn government recently published an interim report on progress in the first year of the programme, and it makes remarkable reading.

This year the fibre count in the overall output of the asbestos cement industry will be cut by 15 per cent (out of a target total of 50 per cent over a five-year period).

Eighty to 90 per cent of output will consist of finished and prefabricated parts needing no further processing, with accompanying health hazards, on the construction site.

Low-dust processing equipment is being manufactured and 70,000 units hve already been sold. Asbestos products are to be marked with a warning symbol and no longer sold at do-it-yourself shops.

Even the Environmental Protection Agency, which for years warned against asbestos and welcomed every headline there was, admits the progress [...] excellent.

A spokesman for the Federal [...] Agency in Berlin even said Eternit [...] set a "very positive" example, [...] as the EPA pointed out, it had [...] tion but to do so.

Manufacturers feel bound [...] themselves on the back and [...] the asbestos dust health hazard [...] must surely have been reduced [...] sandfold.

But less than one asbestos pr[...] five has so far been satisfac[...] placed by an unimpeachble [...] Motor manufacturers, for insta[...] most reluctant to convert to [...] free brake and clutch linings.

Saab have done so. So have [...] gen in the Passat and Santana. [...] Yet the materials used in place [...] tos have a much longer life in [...]

The EPA remains convinced [...] five years at the latest all moto[...] facturers will have sniffed the [...] change.

Pressures moun[...]

They will arguably be forced [...] by the environmental conscio[...] the man in the street, aided and [...] by the Environmental Protec[...] Health Agencies, both of whi[...] on asbestos being banned.

The new Bonn government, [...] predecessor, calls for asbestos [...] minated. It will not be satisfie[...] reduction in the health risk.

But it will still take time. [...] search and the quest for an [...] anywhere near as useful as [...] not get under way until the [...]

It is hard going. Eternit say [...] substitute, Dolan 10, and a [...] product, Kuralon, have ma[...] headway so far.

Other chemicals manufactur[...] joined the fray, realising that [...] succeed in developing a [...] fibre suitable as a replacement [...] bestos they will have a marke[...] million tons a year.

One million tons of acrylic [...] roughly half as much again as [...] current world output, so the [...] tion of industrial profit motive [...] public interest in environmenta[...] tion and health can confidently [...] pected to produce results.

Otto Jörg

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, [...])

Accident research helps cut industrial injuries

Accident research is claimed to have played a leading role in reducing the annual toll of industrial injuries from 2.7 million in 1970 to 1.8 million last year.

Research findings were instrumental in pinpointing causes to be eliminated, Wolfram Jeiter said at the Hanover Fair. He is acting head of the Labour Protection and Accident Research Establishment in Dortmund.

The number of deaths in accidents at work declined from 6,500 to about 3,500 during the period under review.

Better security precautions and advances in humanisation of working conditions have thus effectively reduced the economic cost of industrial injuries.

Herr Jeiter said their overall cost to the economy totalled between DM30bn and DM35bn a year.

Accident research specialists [...] emphasis has changed in the kind [...] juries reported. "Clean" jobs h[...] to the emergence of fresh symp[...] illness.

At Hanover the Dortmund [...] unit exhibited new designs for w[...] standing up, for working ind[...] and for working as a superma[...] shier.

Designers can use an [...] the motions workers go through [...] technically as a motograph, it [...] assist them in devising ideal co[...]

The entire process also enable[...] and research workers to check [...] new ideas have the desired effe[...] make work safer and more huma[...]

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 Ap[...])

■ EXHIBITIONS

Death without frills, just cold, final and dead

[...]he current exhibition at Hamburg's Kunstverein, entitled *Todesbilder*, Pictures of Death, is in its way a [...]or work of art in its own right.

[...]ost people find it extremely diffi[...]to conceptualise death in any way. [...]ther Gercken and Uwe M. Schneede [...]f the Kunstverein don't even try.

[...]stead of equating death and dying [...] concepts such as destiny, fate and [...]dence they have merely assembled [...] most credible depictions of death [...] could find and dispensed with any [...]her intellectualisation.

[...]he result is impressive, and not least [...]ccount of this deliberate decision.

Edvard Munch's view oof the end of [...] as a metabolic process is given the [...]o weight as Ferdinand Hodler's [...]sternation over the slow death of the [...]man he loved, Valentine Godé[...]rel.

In drawing her, Hodler daily sought [...] understand anew the meaning of [...]th.

Arnulf Rainer's view of life as an an[...]pation of death is seen as no less [...]d than Alfred Hrdlicka's repeated [...]empt to discover in death a last dra[...]ic pose of life.

Rudolf Schwarzkogler's effective cri[...]sm of the might of modern intensive [...]dical care (the artist himself is de[...]ted amid tubes, drips, wires and ban[...]ges) is seen as equal in importance to [...]eph Beuys' criticism of the deathly [...]re of terminal wards.

[...]euys' seven-year-old Munich envi[...]ment *Zeige deine Wunde* (Show Me [...]ur Scar), here newly arranged, is un[...]er of the pictures of death in Ham[...]g.

It consists of a blank blackboard, two [...]pshades, two stretchers, two zinc [...]es full of congealed fat, two thermo[...]ters, test-tubes and bird's-head skele[...]s, preserve jars and a handful of [...]er objects.

[...]hey are arranged with considered [...]itivity in the largest of the Kunst[...]ein's exhibition halls, and that is all [...] Beuys' exhibit amounts to in Ham[...]rg.

But the decor is so gloomy that visi[...]s are sure to make the inferences in[...]ded and the organisers need have no [...]r that visitors will not be stricken by [...]iety or prompted to give their imagi[...]ions free rein.

Earlier on in the course of the exhibi[...]n the visitor may have been at a loss [...] words. Here they are no longer [...]ded.

It is a fitting accompaniment that the [...]ted explanations throughout the ex[...]ition are as short and to the point as [...] exhibits are beyond dispute.

The sense of concern with which the [...]jority of the 12 artists whose work is [...]ured went about their work is fully [...]parent.

The exhibition is arranged in an or[...]ly way. Each artist has his own room [...] in each room a different tale is told, [...]h the result that there are some strik[...] leaps in time, from Munch and [...]dler to Beuys and the moderns.

There are also jumps in generation, in [...]age, in degrees of experience and [...]he choice of media: paintings and [...]ints, photographs and objects, room [...]tings and even a videotape of Ulrike [...]enbach's grandmother eating.

Yet somehow Gercken and Schneede have succeeded in scrupulously avoiding the shelter afforded by art history or conclusive arguments of any other kind.

Death, their exhibition shows, is first and foremost a very personal affair for the artist.

All that can be said is that it is no longer as shrouded in secrecy as it once was and thus no longer as easy to symbolise as it was in Munch's days.

Munch used symbols such as Adam and Eve and the Tree of Knowledge against a background of skulls from which young plants grew.

Instead, they now experience it in an even more elementary and direct manner. The forms and strategies of transmission are arguably more subtle; that is all.

Most of the 12 artists were so stricken by the death of a loved one or someone they greatly admired that they dealt with the subject several times.

They were compassionate (Hodler), fascinated (Hrdlicka) or repelled (Beuys), pursued by beautiful fantasies (Günther Brus) or exact recollections (Jochen Gerz) and either tried again and again (Arnulf Rainer) or worked serially (Hetum Gruber). It virtually goes without saying that the exhibition also features many examples of accomplished craftsmanship. The categories of craftsmanship and aestheticism in which the artist work are mainly familiar. Besides, categories are problematic in view of the subject. All experience is personal at the moment of death and artistic freedom of expression requires protection of the artist's feelings at such moments. He is entitled to protection from attribution and assessment, which are bound at moments such as these to be wrong. Anyone who wants to gain anything from the Hamburg exhibition must set aside at least for a few moments any idea of committing himself.

Arnulf Rainer's 'Death mask', 1078, in the 'Todesbilder' exhibition. (Photo: Kunstverein in Hamburg)

He would do better to dispense with words.

Jürgen Schmidt

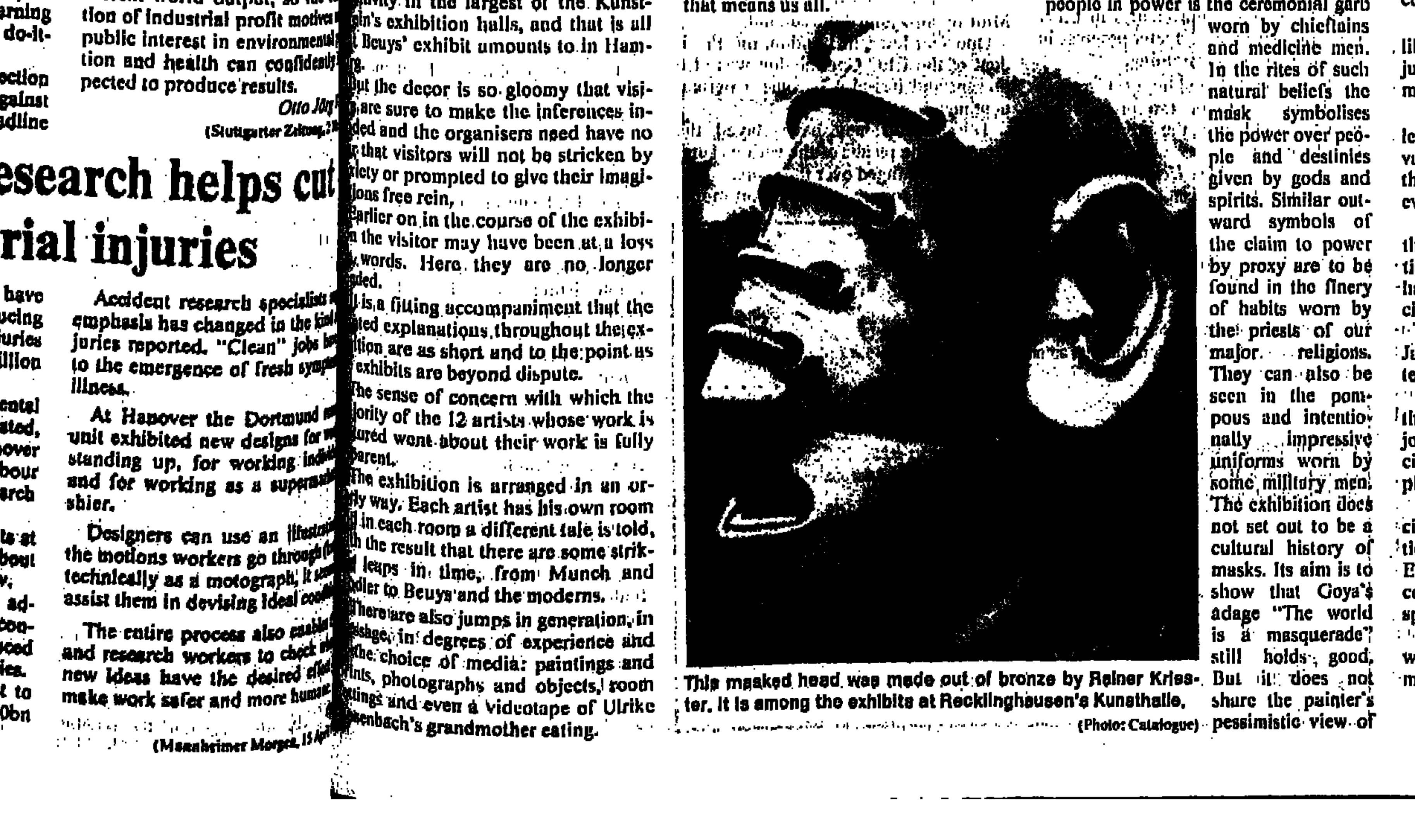
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 May 1983)

Masquerade of mankind, the secrets behind the mask

It may initially come as a surprise to find as part of this year's Ruhr Festival an exhibition on the subject of masks at Recklinghausen Kunsthalle.

The festival keynote is the 50th anniversary of the Nazi take-over in 1933 and the uses and abuses of power. Are masks not just fun and games?

The Recklinghausen exhibition is entitled Who Shows His True Face? and that means us all.



This masked head was made out of bronze by Rainer Kriester. It is among the exhibits at Recklinghausen's Kunsthalle. (Photo: Catalogue)

We all play a part in daily life and inevitably wear a mask in order to hold our own, and a false face is invariably worn in the pursuit of power.

The mask does not only eliminate class distinctions, as in the Venetian carnival; it is also well suited to denoting the position of the person in power.

One of the best-known and most striking instances of masquerading by people in power is the ceremonial garb worn by chieftains and medicine men. In the rites of such natural beliefs the mask symbolises the power over people and destinies given by gods and spirits. Similar outward symbols of the claim to power by proxy are to be found in the finery of habits worn by the priests of our major religions. They can also be seen in the pompous and intentionally impressive uniforms worn by some military men. The exhibition does not set out to be a cultural history of masks. Its aim is to show that Goya's adage "The world is a masquerade" still holds good. But it does not share the painter's pessimistic view of the world. Goya went on to say that "everything is feigned, everyone is a deceiver, and no-one knows himself."

At the Ruhr Festival the mask must also be taken as a reflection on the festival's own sense and purpose: the masquerade as a mirror held out to the audience by actors on stage.

Examples taken from the stage are as carefully chosen as exhibits from the life of primitive peoples. They range from Japanese No masks to lion and fish facial masks worn in a 1977 production of Faust II.

The austerity of metal stage masks designed in the late-1920s under the influence of the Bauhaus school is particularly impressive.

Mask is also taken to mean the child-like pleasure in dressing up for a part, just as the carnival in all its aspects is a major aspect.

It ranges from the tradition of harmless tomfoolery to the Alemannic carnival, which features frightening masks that were originally designed to repel evil spirits.

The mask in art is, however, probably the most important part of the exhibition. It is hard to say how many artists have used the mask as a symbol, especially in the 20th century.

They range from Horst Antes and James Ensor to Paul Klee, René Magritte and Picasso.

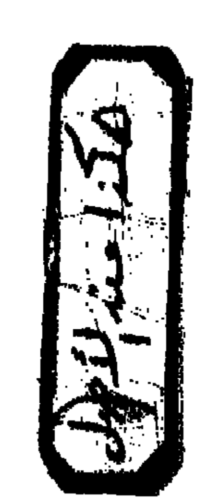
They all, each in his own way, used the masquerade of mankind to show joie de vivre and, more often, to criticise and unmask what lies behind rigid physiognomy.

The death mask comes last in this fascinating array of people and civilisations, with mummies from Ancient Egypt and paintings and sculpture by contemporary artists illustrating Shakespeare's words in Henry IV.

Dying, he wrote, is a mask, for he who does not have human life is only a mask of a man.

Hannes Hardering

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 May 1983)



■ THE THIRD WORLD

Berlin centre provides training for television journalists, technicians

There are more than a hundred million television sets in the Third World. Transmitters are being built twice as fast as was once expected.

As a result, demand for trained staff ist rising, and much of this demand is met by courses for journalist and technicians run in Berlin by *Sender Freies Berlin*.

In the whole of the Third World, there are now only about two dozen television channels without Berlin-trained staff.

About 1,300 have taken part in these TTC (Television Training Center) courses since 1970. Originally the courses were basic and given over a long term. Now they are for just three months and are for those who have already had practical experience.

Bonn provides DM3m a year. Training facilities cost DM10m. There are seven instructors and many sound technicians, cameramen and other technicians on hand.

The popularity of the course makes it clear that television is the number one medium in the Third World. Those who show their worth in newspaper or radio journalism have a good chance of going on to television.

Some of the Berlin trainees have already attended courses held by *Deutsche Welle*, the short-wave Voice of Germany, in Cologne.

So some of the students in Berlin feel as if they are something special. They expect to be treated with a certain degree of respect.

If they think there is any condescension at their hotel it is recorded by the course spokesman. One example: "At times I found that the hotel staff were impolite towards course participants. They seemed to look down on the students — I don't know why. I hope this will change in future."

The technical courses are broken down into two: one for transmitter technicians and the other colour TV technicians. There are four journalism courses: news, magazine, documentary and trick effects.

The students spend five or six weeks at the centre (they often bring examples of work from their own channel as a starting point) and then see the theory in action. The engineers visit transmission centres and equipment makers and the journalists visit TV production departments.

They go to Munich, Mainz, Bonn, Cologne and Düsseldorf. Sometimes it seems as if it all can become too much and a kind of homesickness emerges. There was, as an example, a request during a documentary course, to spend a few days on a small farm.

Trainees produce their own film, during the last weeks.

Course selection has its problems. Some applicants are over-qualified, which would upset the balance of a class. Insistence of some Third World channels on sending their own teaching staff doesn't help.

The Berlin training staff also visits a Third World country each year. They set up workshops and draw up training programmes. Many countries including Indonesia, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka train staff according to Berlin's programme.

Berlin's motive is not ideology or cultural influence, unlike similar centres in France, Britain and American, where there is greater emphasis on pushing national images.

The only concern in Berlin is to enable trainees to present TV programmes professionally. The content is for the trainees' own country to determine.

This is where there is a difference to another training centre on the other side of the Berlin Wall, the *Werner Lamberz Institut*, East Berlin.

West Berliners are convinced that it's much better if ideology is kept out.

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 April 1983)

Meeting told of fears of a one-way brain-drain

Third World countries are no longer willing to serve as mere "suppliers" of young intelligent minds to the industrial countries of the world.

This was made clear at the International Conference of university vice-chancellors in Munich.

It was organised by the International Association of Universities (IAU), which has 800 member universities.

There was plenty of heated comment on this issue, from some of the 180 delegates from 86 countries.

One American scientist, for example, recommended that the "young states" limit their activities to imparting basic academic knowledge.

This was taken to mean concentrating training efforts on teachers able to teach the mass of the population in developing countries the basics of the three Rs.

The American went on to advise the developing countries to send any too highly qualified specialists to universities in industrialised countries.

This was too much for the representatives of the Third World countries at the conference and open protest broke out.

The Indian scientists were particularly adamant in insisting that this would lead to a one-way brain-drain to the industrialised countries.

Experience has shown that the appeal of the higher standard of living in industrialised countries will persuade many young academics from Third World countries not to return home after obtaining their qualifications.

In the face of the deep-rooted differences of its member universities, the IAU has always steered clear of adopting any kind of resolutions or declarations on specific issues.

This time an attempt by the university representatives from socialist countries to get the conference participants to sign a peace declaration failed.

The chairman of the conference dismissed the suggestion without further ado.

The President of the host university of Munich, Professor Wulf Steinmann, uttered a few words of regret at the end of the conference about the West German situation.

In his opinion, universities in other countries have made greater progress in systems of academic training.

The Federal Republic of Germany would appear to be too preoccupied with the problem of the growing number of students.

Max-Hermann Bloch

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 29 April 1983)

Williamsburg

Continued from page 6

Weber could well serve as a *leitmotif* for the series of summits.

The first meeting of the big six in Puerto Rico turned into a round of seven in 1976, after the Canadian Prime Minister also joined the summit.

One year later, in London, the President of the EEC Commission was also present and has also become a permanent member.

This line-up may have stayed the same, but the results of the various summits have changed over the years.

Puerto Rico saw agreement on monetary support for Italy, London's declaration of war on inflation.

The Bonn summit in July [...] the host country really get down [...]siness by promising to help improve [...] international economic situation [...] ducing taxation and increasing [...] spending to a level which [...] ceeded DM12 billion (the [...] was "up to one per cent of the [...] tional product").

The self-appointed role of the [...] ral Republic of Germany as [...] for growth was certainly no easy [...]

Increased borrowing restric[...] scope for political action in the [...] which followed.

The 1981 summit in Ottawa [...] increase in interest rates was [...] limelight.

Many looked towards the USA [...] emphasising: "The interest [...] many countries have reached [...] vels and if they remain at such [...] they will present a serious threat [...] ductive investments."

This problems may have become [...] severe but it still exists.

The West German Minister of [...]ce, Gerhard Stoltenberg, recently [...] ed to the reduction of the high [...] rates, particularly in the USA [...] the key aspects of the coming [...] Williamsburg.

Other central issues will be [...] budgetary deficits, the fight [...] unemployment and the huge [...] of debt towering over Third [...] countries, which now figures [...] $600 billion.

Eberhard [...]

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, [...])

CHANGE OF ADDRESS FORM

Sorry, we cannot handle your request until we know your sub. no., which is printed between asterisks (*) above your address.

Subscription Number

FRIEDRICH REINECKE VERLAG GMBH
Schoene Aussicht 23
D-2000 Hamburg 76

New Address

Zip Code .... Country ....

Motorcycle de[...]

Continued from page [...]

wheels' and the social st[...] which they aspire inside and [...] motorcycling fraternity depe[...] size, power, speed and price [...] bike."

Motoring correspondents [...] delfingen seminar did not [...] their way to dispute this claim [...] a moment did they dispute tha[...] that manufacturers and the [...] happy to go along with this be[...]

Motorcyclists were thus se[...] the group of road-users who [...] most serious danger of being [...] maimed, yet at the same time [...] people who were not readily [...] to rational arguments.

They might not be indiffer[...] safety but they did not attach [...] portance to it. So the autho[...] thinking in terms of mandatory [...] tions to reduce the accident ris[...]

The Road Safety Council [...] Höcherl Commission have be[...] instrumental in deciding Bonn [...] port Minister Werner Dollinger [...] troduce a graduated driving li[...] motorcycles next year.

Details were outlined at Sin[...] by the Ministry's Hans-Jürgen [...] who said beginners would not [...] ed to ride a big bike until they [...] ed experience on a smaller one.

There are also plans to impr[...] dards among both driving scho[...] and instructors.

Few people realise that ridi[...] torcycle is much more diffic[...] learning to drive a car.

"All we know about riding [...] cycle," Herr Riediger said, "[...] an extremely risky business."

Mart[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, [...])

■ EDUCATION

Full-speed inertia grips attempts to reform the university system

[...]is now almost common knowledge [...]at German university graduates are [...]old when they finish their courses. [...]eady "too old" after 13 years at [...]ol, most students spend an average [...]ve to six years at university.

[...] many cases, their academic train[...] does not correspond to job needs.

[...]o-one can complain that there have [...] no suggestions for changing the [...]. Yet most are gathering dust in [...] office drawer. It would seem that [...] is nothing more difficult than [...]ing decisions on fundamental aca[...]ic questions.

[...]orge Turner, head of the national [...]ersity vice-chancellor's organisa[...], is doing his utmost to find solu[...].

[...]e growing number of students and [...] cutbacks in university finance is a [...]or problem.

[...]ven more worrying is the fact that [...]er education policy virtually finds [...]f in a state of inertia.

[...]ice-chancellors' own hands are tied [...]gid rules which prevent the unres[...]ed choice of main research areas by [...]vidual universities.

[...]e system of university entrance ad[...]ion restriction has turned into a lot[...] for the whole system of higher edu[...]on.

[...]wo recent court decisions showed [...] implications for higher education of [...] Basic Law, which states that univer[...] places and the labour market [...]ld be "co-ordinated".

[...]p to now arbitrary political deci[...]s may well have prevented drawing [...]ar line between these two factors, [...] the scope for political action has be[...]e more limited.

[...]Universities must now pay for what [...] have failed to achieve in the past. [...]hey have failed to develop ideas for [...]ormal limitation to the length of [...]y courses.

[...]ll parties were unanimous in their [...]tion of the concept of a fixed [...]od of time within which a student [...] complete hist studies and this was [...] deleted from the Higher Education [...]ework Act.

[...]e Committee for Educational Re[...]s set up to work out ideas for [...]ging the system quarrelled to such [...]extent that their primary concern at [...] moment is to patch up the damage [...]e by such in-fighting.

Even the most promising attempt to alter the system by dividing study courses into those which are more practically oriented and those which are more academically oriented (in line with the American model of "undergraduate" and "graduate" studies) failed miserably.

In 1978 suggestions for such "short study courses" were presented by the Science and Education Council.

Yet they were met by rejection right down the line. They were regarded as inacceptable by educational experts who saw the danger that most students would have to complete their studies in a very short time to enable academic privileges for the chosen few.

Industry did not take up the suggestions even though such demands were similar to its own.

The project was finally buried after coming up against the barrier facing all educational initiatives: the pay and employment guidelines for civil servants, which does not allow something which is different in content yet of equal value to be rewarded in the same way.

The "struggle" for higher educational reforms has turned into a kind of German drama, with a pretty good cast but a weak plot.

This is a case of pragmatism falling in the face of academic tradition. Of course, this does not apply to all subjects.

In many disciplines there have been partial reforms on a regional level or in smaller universities.

However, these have been more of a "by-product" rather than an immediate result of higher education policies on a more general level.

Such general education policy has become bogged down between civil service law and industrial law, between the fears of overcrowding and reforms.

Is there a real chance of overcoming the paralysis in higher education reforms? Or to put it another way: how realistic are Turner's suggestions today?

To cut down the number of years at school would hardly seem a realistic way out, since this would only load an additional amount of pupils on to the universities and lead to greater unemployment among teachers.

Cutting down the length of study courses, providing that is that a reasonable concept exists, would aggravate the unemployment situation.

George Turner
(Photo: Jörg-Peter Maucher)

What is more, it looks as if many universities are not interested in reducing the number of their students when they consider that the average number of pupils is decreasing.

A premature reduction would endanger their own future.

As regards these universities, therefore, Turner is already preaching to deaf ears.

The German drama of higher education reform stays on the bill.

Malte Buschbeck

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 May 1983)

Germany's first private campus opens with 26 students

The first 26 students have taken their places at Germany's first private university, at Witten/Herdecke, in the Ruhr.

All are medical students, but there will eventually be 3,000 places in departments of philosophy, biology, chemistry, mathematics and probably law, engineering and economics.

It took ten years of planning and 24 months of tug-of-war with the SPD-run government of North-Rhine Westphalia before the final go-ahead was given.

It looks as if the struggle is over. The North-Rhine Westphalian Minister for Science and Education, Hans Schwier, attended the opening ceremony and praised the significance of this institution.

Germany's first private university is not backed by public funds and will be financed by donation contributions.

The first 26 students began their medical studies this month.

They were chosen from a total of 1,300 applicants without the involvement of the central admissions council.

The marks for the school-leaving certificate were not that important for the final selection.

Those responsible for making the choice were more interested in the willingness of applicants to work hard and their sense of social commitment.

The medical course is a comprehensive one. All students must complete all-round general studies as part of their qualification. This consists of psychology, philosophy and other social sciences.

During the opening ceremony, the Chairman of the University Association, Dr Konrad Schily, of Herdecke, pointed out that "this is just the beginning of a long journey for our country."

There have been many long discussions on the pros and cons of a private university.

The initiators of the project, who aim to create a kind of elite, certainly caused a great deal of suspicion among politicians involved in education, who feared that the foundation character of the private university would give the donors too much influence on university affairs.

Herr Schwier warned those responsible to be wary of such a development.

The Federation of German Trade Unions, the DGB, had even expressed fears of the business world creating its own independent field of higher education.

And yet, the union's own bank, the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft, provided a surety of DM17m for the foundation of the university.

The new institution will now have to stand up to the test.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 2 May 1983)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Truth revealed at last: why nice children turn into horrible adults

Until recently, the reason for neurotic personality structures was thought to lie in the individual's childhood experiences.

This basic cause-effect relationship is being questioned more and more by experts in psychology.

They believe that the function a person assumes within the family or a similar group and the roles conferred are of equal importance for the development of an individual's personality.

As confirmed by this year's Psychotherapy Week in Lindau, the classic question of why this person behaves in this way and not in some other way, has been replaced by the question of why he behaves like this.

This does not belittle the significance of past experience but underlines that the knowledge of such experience is not important, perhaps not even essential, for understanding the changes in the realities of human interaction.

The present function of psychological phenomena within the individual's frame work of relationships is of greater importance in this respect.

This is where therapeutic measures can help most.

The "equity theory," for example, is based on the central assumption that humans wish to live within the context of balanced relations.

"Balanced" is seen to mean the quantitative nature of characteristics, abilities and competences which a person can offer his/her partner.

Many people suffer under unbalanced relationships and often leave their partner if a change cannot be achieved.

Of course, the success of such a change also depends a great deal on the partner.

Professor K. König from Tiefenbrunn spoke on the primary criteria for partner selection.

If all other factors are similar, the partner chosen is usually of a similar attractiveness.

If the external attractiveness varies there are very often other compensatory factors.

A man, for example, who is much older than his partner may well find social status, experience in life or kindness compensating for his age.

The desire not only to be loved by one's partner but also admired can become a determinant factor in choice.

Very often the person who suffers most from an unbalanced relationship is not the one who receives less but who can offer less.

For example, a woman who may well have greatly admired her husband when they decided to marry may not acknowledge his occupation successes later on.

They may decide to split up, not because the husband no longer needs the admiration from his wife but because she now demands something from him which he cannot give, for example more time.

His wife is no longer interested or satisfied with what he can offer, for example social prestige.

König explained how the choice of a partner is guided by traces of past memories which are associated with interaction with members of one's own family.

In many cases, these memories relate to the actual parents, yet in some cases there is a mental picture of ideal parents who compensate for the shortcomings of real parents.

All aspects which were important during contacts with such central persons — not necessarily with the real parents — are stored in a person's memory together with feeling of acceptance and sympathy or dislike and contradiction.

Professor E. Sperling pointed out that the relationship to grandparents are just as important as the child-parent relationship when it come to family therapy.

In many cases, the person asks himself: why am I like I am? I could quite easily have turned out completely different! The evaluation of family histories has shown that this is not the case.

Family therapy has revealed that the family must be viewed as a whole, including the grandparents.

The previously accepted principle of linear causality is thus replaced by the more circular cybernetic principle of interaction.

Such systems' theory-oriented approached and the resultant paradox intervention strategies have been remarkably successful.

The tendency to become depressed, to contemplate suicide or to suffer from anorexia nervosa are very often "kept in the family" for generations.

The main aspect here is not the actual illness but the ideology handed down within the family.

Sperling is convinced that pathological anorexia, for example, is not part of an ascetic ideal which suddenly emerges and then disappears just as quickly.

Just like the formation of other ideas and life-styles, such ideals have a long family tradition and are also influenced by the immediate social environment.

Talks with grandparents [...]firmed this assumption. I be[...] why members of a family stick [...] even though they may have [...] different attitudes toward[...] aspects of life.

The interaction between [...]rents and their grandchildren [...] loaded with controversial [...] life, for example, on neat[...] length of one's hair or sexuality [...]

This can lead to consider[...]rences of opinion and the qu[...] include the parents too.

The older generation also [...]rent needs.

Problems are often hushed [...] the excuse "we don't want [...] grand-dad".

This creates substantial tens[...] kind of unreality between gen[...] problem which should be deal[...] using multi-generation-therapy.

The illness can then be estab[...] analysing the past, present a[...] aspects of the disturbed relation[...]

Sperling confirmed that chi[...] matter what age, do their utmo[...] up to the exectations of their [...] and to help them in all of li[...]tions.

This starts with the three [...] child giving its father its fav[...] so that he gets over an illness [...] us right through to the stud[...] slogs away at his studies to bec[...]mething better" in life, some[...] father always wanted to becom[...]

Family loyalty is a very [...] factor and psychotherapeutic [...] often comes up against a bar[...] "patient" finds himself in a co[...]volving loyalty to his family.

The patient's resistance [...] lead to the failure of such trea[...]

Professor J. G. Lemaire [...]derlined tht such resistance [...] backed by the family itself, [...] if therapy threatens to distur[...] relationships within the family.

This particularly applies to [...] whose togetherness is not so [...] result of erotic desires but of [...] needs.

The narcissistic help pro[...] one's partner consists of his [...]cepting the partner's weakness[...]

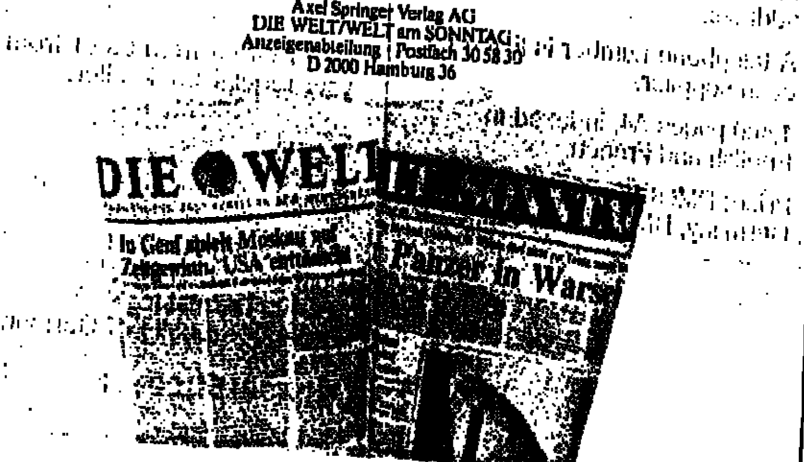
The love-bond between two [...] acts as a protecting shield for the [...]dual, as does the framework of [...]

However, if an easily vulner[...]ner requires too much of such [...]tic aid things can become dange[...]

Children are then in many [...] the receiving end of the still [...]solved conflicts are passed on.

The partners themselves [...]

Continued on page 16



Twins, quins, quads etc: washing nappies only the beginning

Twins are very often at a disadvantage. Their parents are more often than not emotionally, educationally and economically overtaxed.

This is the finding of a study carried out for the *Allgemeine Rentenanstalt* (ARA) and published in Frankfurt.

A group of sociologists and social psychologists from the University of Frankfurt took a look at 35 families with twins or more.

They discovered that in many cases the initial reaction to the extra bundle(s) of joy was one of "shock."

The researchers found out that to begin with many parents of twins are pushed to their emotional limits.

Caring for babies is a particularly "difficult technical problem" [...]perienced mothers.

There is not even help from [...]ties for fathers and mothers [...] who have to bring up the ch[...] their own.

The study confirms that [...] economic problems the main [...] worry is the question of upbr[...]

There are no clear answ[...] question of competition amon[...] whether parents should enc[...] different of the same kind of [...]ment for their children.

Hardly any literature is ava[...] the subject.

(Nordwest Zeitung [...])

MODERN LIVING

Four survive in open boat after yacht sunk by gunfire, but questions linger

[...]embers of a team of German radio [...] were killed when their yacht was [...]-gunned off the coast of a remote [...] in the South China Sea. Four sur[...] for 10 days in a dinghy before being [...]d. But all sorts of questions re[...] One concerns the role of Baldur [...]ica, 48, one of the survivors. He is [...]ployee of the *Verfassungsschutz*, [...]rman counter-espionage agency. Is [...]ct coincidental?

[...]kon I must first have drunk about [...] litres of water," said Baldur Drob[...] 48, one of the four survivors of the [...]hartha hours after they were rescu[...]om a dinghy adrift in the South [...]a Sea.

[...] outlined the first details of the [...]'s 10-day ordeal to Volker Bock, a [...]gen engineeer and part-owner of [...] Singapore-registered yacht.

[...]robnica and his companions were [...]ed up by the container freighter [...]en 220 miles west of Amboina Cay, [...]land in the Spratly group.

[...]robnica, from Bergheim, near [...]gne, the ship's captain Peter Marx, [...]nd his wife Jenny, 33, from Singa[...], and Norbert Willand, 33, from [...]gne survived an incredible ordeal.

[...]hey spent 10 days without food or [...]r clad in swimwear in a dinghy. [...]y were exposed to tropical sun all [...] every day. There was not one drop [...]rain.

[...]o Band, also from Cologne, the [...]person in the dinghy, died the day [...] the rescue. Dietheim Müller, [...] Cologne, was killed the day the [...] was sunk.

[...]e shipwrecked crew members saw [...] and aircraft on several occasions [...]g their 10 days adrift but were not [...]d themselves until the *Linden* [...]d them at 19.45 hours local time.

[...] relation to what they must have [...] through the survivors were in [...] shape. They had sores from the salt water and Peter Marx a chest wound from the shooting.

Drobnica explained what happened when the yacht's Mayday calls ("We are under fire" and "The ship is on fire") were heard by radio hams all over the world.

The *Siddhartha* had sailed to within about a mile of the island where the Cologne amateur radio enthusiasts planned to land heavy equipment and transmit to others all over the world for five days.

They were authorised to land by the Malaysian government, but ownership of the Spratly Islands is disputed, it is claimed by China, Vietnam, Taiwan and others.

As the crew scanned the coastline guns opened fire. The yacht's polyester hull is said to hae been riddled by machine-gun fire and direct hits scored by 50mm shells.

The tanks containing fuel that was to have powered generators for the transmitter caught fire.

The hull was felt to be practically unsinkable, incorporating extra plastic floats, but it sank within minutes, partly due to the heavy load of radio equipment. The crew just had time to transmit distress signals before abandoning ship and hopping into the dinghy. Firing continued and Müller was killed and Marx injured.

Firing continued even after they had abandoned ship. Had it not been for the heavy swell the dinghy too might well have been hit and sunk.

The ordeal then began. In a telephone interview with Radio Luxembourg just after they were picked up Marx described the struggle for survival:

"The ship was lost in a matter of minutes. We had nothing left. There were very few options. Either we put up a struggle or we died. we decided to try and last the distance.

"Every morning we wished we had coffee for breakfast. Every evening at sundown we hoped to be alive to see sunrise the next day."

While the dinghy appears to have been sent west by strong winds against the current, feverish activity began in a bid to find the yacht or what remained of it.

Volker Bock flew to Singapore to hire an aircraft and scour the seas for it. The Bonn Foreign Office reached agreement with neighbouring countries for the Spratly Islands to be flown over during the search.

But there were no traces, so Bock suspected the yacht had been captured and sailed away. He only learnt from Drobnica that the *Siddhartha* had sunk almost immediately.

Confusion was created by bogus Mayday calls reported during the search. A Malayan ham even went so far as to claim that a Soviet nuclear submarine had taken four survivors and two corpses on board.

Hopes of finding survivors declined daily. Bock eventually flew home convinced the missing crew were being held by the Vietnamese and determined to trace their whereabouts with the help of the Foreign Office.

He had barely arrived home when the news came through that allowed four families to breathe sighs of relief and confirmed the other two's worst suspicions. The families of the survivors were promptly requested to remit DM3,000 immediately to the German embassy in Hong Kong to pay for their relatives' flights home.

It took action by Bonn Bundestag MPs to persuade the embassy to make the initial outlay and buy the tickets. Volker Bock flew to Hong Kong to greet the survivors.

Why travel to the ends of the earth with radio equipment in this way? Amateur radio enthusiasts, of whom there are about 300 in the Cologne area, see it as a sporting challenge.

They collect QSL cards confirming reception of transmissions like valuable postage stamps. The cards state time, frequency, contents and quality of transmissions.

Once you have 100 confirmations of your own from foreign countries you are awarded a diploma by the American Radio Relay League.

League leaders have up to 325 confirmations.

So the *Siddhartha* and its mission would have helped radio hams all over the world who had never picked up transmissions from the Spratly Islands.

The last mission of this kind was in 1979 when Americans landed on the islands and set up a transmitter.

Malte Wittwer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 April 1983)

Continued from page 14

[...]hat helping one another also in[...] risks.

[...] example, the depressed state of [...]partner may be associated with the [...]ery of the other and vice-versa.

[...] Lemaire's opinion, any form of in[...]ual therapy should be preceded by [...] with the family or the person's [...]er.

[...]member of the family may sudden[...] the the first time feel like an indi[...], a feeling the family or partner [...]not given him/her.

[...]is is especially true for partners in [...]lled "merged" relationships, where [...] is no clear dividing line between [...]personalities of the two individuals.

[...]th persons in such a relationship [...]ify their own personality with that [...]eir partner.

[...]y form of personality development [...] to be a threat.

[...] the other hand, there are clear [...]onality divisions for "symbiotic" [...]ples, where desires and resistance [...]ort each other.

[...]e differing roles assumed by each [...]ner allow individual development [...]ake place so that such couples are [...] to accept new ways of life.

Wolfgang Cyran

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 May 1983)



Safe on dry land again . . . Jenny Toh Swee-neo (left) and her husband Peter Marx (in background) and at right, Baldur Drobnica, after their rescue in the South China Sea. Their story is that they were on an innocent radio ham holiday when their yacht was shot out of the water. (Photos: AP)

Our man just on private holiday, says counter intelligence

Questions are hanging over the expedition by radio hams to the South China Sea in which two people died and four other members of the crew were rescued after 10 days without food or water.

Speculation has been prompted for one by the fact that one of the survivors works for the *Verfussungsschutz* the Cologned-based counter-espionage agency.

The Bonn government agency says it is a mistake and absurd to suggest that the radio expedition in which its 48-year-old employee Baldur Drobnica had taken part was in any way connected with his work.

The *Verfassungsschutz* is responsible for domestic intelligence activities and is not authorised to work abroad but, a spokesman added, Herr Drobnica would be asked in person to answer detailed questions.

Intelligence work abroad is handled by the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* in Pullach, Munich, where a spokesman said that as a matter of principle no comment was made on operations regardless whether allegations were true or false.

In a TV interview the shipwrecked mariner said he had visions just after batteries opened fire on the yacht *Siddhartha* of the crew not being rescued from the ship's dinghy until the 10th day of their Odyssey.

The spokesman for the *Verfassungsschutz* said Herr Drobnica was a keen radio ham and his strictly private holiday had been notified and given the go-ahead beforehand by his employer.

There was a ban on employees taking holidays n Communist countries, but no-one was expecting Herr Drobnica to run into Vietnamese troops and it had not been felt necessary (nor had it been possible) to veto his holiday plans.

The *Siddharthe* sailed from Singapore to the *Spratly Islands* in the South China Sea, a group claimed by several countries.

Three men and a woman survived for 10 days without water in the heat of the sea. This alone is a fact for which it is hard to account.

Another point that defies explanation is how the dinghy was driven 200 miles south-west, and off-course in relation to the prevailing wind and current, to the busy Singapore-Hong Kong shipping lane.

An immediate answer to these intriguing queries has been made more difficult now an illustrated magazine has clinched an exclusive contract to publish the story of what happened on board the yacht.

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 April 1983)

